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LAND AND LAW AS AGENTS IN EDUCATING INDIANS.

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WHAT IS AN INDIAN?

Land and law and education are terms which convey a sufficiently definite meaning to us all. But with reference to the land of the United States, before the law of the United States, and regarded as the subject of an uninterrupted process of education, good or bad, at the hands of the people of the United States, what is an Indian? What is his legal status? Can he be defined in terms satisfactory to Americans who love justice and believe in fair play? His copper color, his prominent cheek bones, his straight black hair are physical marks easily connoted for placing him among the ethnographic groups into which we divide the inhabitants of our land. If we look for the marks by which his legal status is to be recognized, they will be found to be quite as striking. But we hesitate in attempting to name the anomalous position we have given him before the law. He is not a citizen by local birth. He is not a foreigner. He is not an alien. He cannot by naturalization become a citizen. General Cushing called him a "domestic subject." Daniel Webster applies to the Indians an old legal definition, which would delight the heart of many a greedy frontiersman who covets their property. He calls them "perpetual inhabitants with diminutive rights." On the whole, the term which has found most favor with those who consider the matter is "wards of the Government."

WARDS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

To the designingly selfish, this term loosely used seems to indicate power on our part to do as we will at present with their land and with the Indians themselves. Who shall call on us for a final accounting before these "wards" attain their majority? And do not statistics and analogies give ground to hope that before that time shall arrive they will *die out?* With the fair-minded, on the other hand, this term is a favorite one from precisely opposite motives. It seems to indicate that certain duties toward them rest as obligations upon us. President Cleveland voices this feeling when he says in his inaugural address:

> The conscience of the people demands that the Indians within our boundaries shall be fairly and honestly treated, as wards of the Government, and their education and civilization promoted, with a view to their ultimate citizenship.

The relation of a man to his wards tests his integrity and his sense of honor. If his wards are not in all respects interesting, attractive, or

lovable, and have no powerful friends to watch over their interests, the relation becomes a nicer test of the guardian.

It will be the aim of my address to-night to examine with you, in the light of this truth, some of our duties to the nation's Indian wards; and especially to look at the agency of such land and law as we give them or deny them in educating these "wards of the nation."

LAND AND LAW ARE ACTIVE AGENTS ON THE FRONTIER.

Land and law I have purposely called *agents* in this process of educating the Indian. They are not mere passive conditions. They are living forces, now at work in the solution of the question "What is the future of the Indian?" Here in the East we forget how questions of land and law *lay hold* upon the frontiersman. Land is conservative, a permanent property, a measure of values, here. Not so in the West. There the chief object of every man is to get land, either to hold or as a basis for speculation. The value of land fluctuates there at the caprice of the railroad magnates, who, by giving or withholding a station or a grain elevator, make or destroy a market, and multiply or divide by ten the value of all the land for miles around. There is a fever of activity along the frontier, and its most clearly-marked symptom is the feverish thirst for land. No man who has not seen it and felt it can understand the intense power of this wish for lands in the restless life that fringes our unclaimed public domain. To get land, by hook or by crook, seems the one aim of every man you see. The Indian problem, ever since it began to be a problem, has been working itself out on an area ever shifting westward, with the march of white settlements. Those who have studied it have always found themselves in the din of the border life, of land seizures, new settlements, and the eager strife of the frontier. Land has been and is a powerful agent in the education of the Indian, then, whether we will it or not, and never a more powerful agent than now. Unless we wisely provide land in severalty for the Indians within the next five years, the awful pressure of immigration and the logic of selfishness unchecked by wise legislation will have left no land whatever.

SOME LAW MUST BE HAD TO SECURE ANY LAND TO THE INDIAN.

Law, too, works its most striking effects at those formative periods when custom and prescription and long occupancy have not settled men's rights and titles. Of course the power of law is best discerned by the thoughtful in the silent steady reign of law that characterizes and conditions the society in which we live here at the East. But the unthinking are most deeply impressed by the processes of the law as it begins to make its power felt in communities where all rights of occupancy are comparatively recent, where are found large numbers of adventurers and criminals who shun the law, and where appeals to brute force have been frequent. The power of law is keenly felt because men have so often felt its absence. In such society as this, law is to begin its educating influence upon the Indians. And one of the first offices of law for the Indian must be to secure a fair amount of land to the Indian, and gradually, but firmly and surely, to teach him that he must use that land wisely and thereby prosper, or that if he persistently refuses to use it, he must lack, and if he will do no work when he has been aught how to work, then he must starve.

It is but recently that the land question has begun to press upon us, in America. The overflow of people has moved westward and had the best lands simply for the taking so freely that they have known nothing of the consideration of the rights of former occupants. We have had an almost unoccupied continent to take under cultivation. History has never before recorded the march of a fully civilized race into and over a continent that was not possessed by another race. The vast migrations westward of Asiatic and Europen history involved questions of joint occupancy, of the right of conquest, and of the local government of the conquered. But for purposes of settled cultivation, our continent north of Mexico was practically unoccupied. Roaming over thousands of square miles to hunt and fish had not given to the Indian tribes any such rights in the soil, any such tenure of the land in equity, as comes from the cultivation of the soil, or even from the long occupancy of fixed tracts for pasturing flocks and herds. When the first period of Indian wars that threatened the extermination of the whites had passed, the flood of migration flowed westward over a whole continent, checked only for a little at the limits of the reservation which had been solemnly guaranteed to the Indians from time to time—then, after chafing a little at the delay, swallowing them up in its onward sweep, and tossing the Indians westward again like driftwood on its foremost waves.

This superabundance of land no longer exists. Men who have seen millions of acres given to a railroad and have felt "there's land enough," as we begin to approach the limit of the nation's landed largess, grow impatient of the possession of any land by the Indian. We have all seen the animus of the Oklahoma "boomers," who pass by thousands of acres of land to be had at merely nominal rates—land far better than that which they seek to wrest from the Indian, and encamping on the borders of the forbidden land, defy law and military force, and will do nothing but sigh with passionate covetous longing for Naboth's vineyard, though it does not adjoin their own. Such men waste years in lazy protest against the holding of any lands by Indians. If the Indian is to retain any land, he must have more law.

THE WHITE MAN'S GREED OF LAND AND THE RED MAN'S LACK OF LAW.

Thus we have clearly before us the white man's greed of land and the red man's lack of law. Potent factors in educating the Indians, these have been. What have they made of him, so far in his history?

It is difficult to say what the Indian was before he was contaminated by contact with the whites. This has been the favorite ground of romance writers. One hesitates to set foot there.

SENTIMENT ASIDE, WHAT IS THE INDIAN?

Yet we seek for facts, not groundless sentiment; and we may safely say that the aboriginal American was not, after all, the unfallen man. He had faults and vices. The Saturnian age was not in unbroken sway here in America when Indians were the only visitors to these mineral springs at Saratoga. The tomahawk, the scalping-knife, the torture-stake, did not come over in the Mayflower. Not all the vices of the Indian camp of to-day can be justly attributed to the example or the influence of the whites. It is at least doubtful whether the uncontaminated Indian warrior spent the greater part of his time in romantic thoughts about the graves of his fathers—certainly he treated very

shabbily his living female relatives—his wife, his sisters, his daughters. We should misjudge him if we deemed him so religiously inclined that he spent his days unoccupied in the open air on purpose that he might with untutored mind "see God in storm, or hear him in the wind." Too often any open-air abstractions that may have seemed to early observers to engage him as he lay unoccupied in the summer sunshine ought no doubt to be charged in fairness to a trait in his nature which has led to the frontiersman's definition of an Indian's idea of perfect bliss—"to sit on the fence and see the white man mow."

I remember a certain dinner party where the host was a gentleman who in earlier years had been a most intimate friend of Cooper, the great Indian novelist, his companion in frontier life and in European travel, the witness of his literary success and jealous of his fame. The conversation had turned on Cooper and his novels, when a lady said to our host: "Was not a negro servant in Mr. Cooper's family a famous hunter—the original of Natty Bumpo, the hero of the Leatherstocking Tales?" "Oh, no," was the quick reply, "he was a pure creation of Mr. Cooper's imagination. There never was an actual original for him any more than there was for Mr. Cooper's perfect Indians."

Let us deal with the actual Indian. Too much conceded to the romance writers who depict the Indian in elysian tints against elysian backgrounds would tend to a powerful revulsion of feeling when one visits a western reservation. Designing men are fond of declaiming about the contrast between such Indians of romance and the Indian as he is. And they make the contrast pitiful on purpose that the minds of those who feel the unpleasant jar may be alienated from any serious consideration of the actual needs and the unquestioned and most outrageous wrongs of the real Indian. Yet there is no question that the Indians of this continent were and are far superior to the savage races of most other quarters of the globe. They are well worth saving. Competent judges who have seen much of both classes regard the average Indian as quite the equal in native intelligence and ability of the average negro of the Southern plantation.

A FEW STATISTICS.

But we base our consideration of the work that land and law are to do for the Indian upon facts rather than sentiment. We find ground for hope in these facts: 82,000 of the 265,000 Indians have adopted citizens' dress; not counting the 60,000 Indians of the five civilized tribes, 15,000 houses have been built by them; they have under cultivation 230,000 acres of land, more than an acre for every man, woman, and child; they raised last year in round numbers a million bushels of corn, nearly as much wheat, half a million bushels of oats and barley, and as many bushels of vegetables. Of stock they own 235,000 horses and mules, 103,000 head of cattle, 68,000 swine, and over 1,000,000 sheep. These figures exclude the products and possession of the 60,000 civilized Indians who are now ripe for territorial government and whose possessions would more than double these amounts.

INDIANS ASK FOR LAND IN SEVERALTY.

These results would be very small, of course, for the same number of whites. But they prove conclusively the utter falsehood of the charge sometimes made that Indians will not work and cannot farm successfully. I give them because they indicate a growing perception on the part of the

Indians of the fact that their future lies along the line of systematic labor upon the soil. Again and again as you read the records of negotiation with Indians for their repeated removals from the reservations assigned them by treaty, you are struck by the eloquent plea of the Indians for "land they can call their own, to make a home on it." The demand for land to cultivate has been much more constant than our people generally have believed. It is pathetic, and provocative of hot indignation, too, if a man loves justice, to read the accounts of the breaking-up by the Government of promising beginnings in a fixed agricultural life. And when tribes have been thus torn from the land they had begun to cultivate, and our Government in return for lands surrendered has contracted to pay so many thousands of dollars each year in stock and improved implements of agriculture, and has year after year broken this agreement, it stirs the blood to read the petitions of their chiefs that "at least a few hoes" may be sent them to cultivate their farms. As we see at how many points in the history of one tribe and another a very little direction and assistance, a little wise care for the ignorant, yes, even a little common honesty in dealing with the helpless, would have civilized whole tribes and saved them from generations of savagery, one must blush for his country's good name, and long to do something, even at this late day, to help to right such stupendous wrongs.

This desire for land, this readiness to labor on it, again and again expressed in the past, has grown rapidly of late. It is the most promising sign of a possible solution of the problem how to secure the Indians' transition from barbarism to civilization. If the wronged, embittered, almost despairing Indians of certain tribes are to be lifted, as we believe they soon will be, to the plane of hopeful and happy citizenship, it will be by this blessed road of labor, under equal laws, and each man on land which he holds as his own by a personal title. This conviction, growing and welcomed among the Indians themselves, is the most hopeful augury for their future.

For what ought we to hope as the future of the Indian? What should the Indian become?

THE INDIAN SHOULD BE A CITIZEN.

To this there is one answer—and but one. He should become an intelligent citizen of the United States. There is no other "manifest destiny" for any man or any body of men on our domain. To this we stand committed by all the logic of two thousand years of Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon history, since Arminius with his sturdy followers made a stand for liberty against the legions of Rome. Foremost champions of that peculiarly Anglo-Saxon idea, that supports a strong central government, moves as a whole, yet protects carefully the local and individual freedom of all the parts, we are, as a matter of course, to seek to fit the Indians among us as we do all other men for the responsibilities of citizenship. And by the stupendous precedent of eight millions of freedmen made citizens in a day, we have committed ourselves to the theory that the way to fit men for citizenship is to make them citizens. The dangers that would beset Indian voters solicited by the demagogue would not be greater than those which now attend him unprotected by law, the prey of sharpers, and too often the pauperized, ration-fed pensioner of our Government, which, when it has paid at all the sums it has promised to pay to Indians, has paid them in such a way as to undermine what manhood and self-respect the Indian had. For one, I would willingly see the Indians run the risk of being flattered a little by can

didates for Congress. None of their tribes are destitute of shrewd men who would watch the interests of the race.

DOES OUR POLICY TOWARD INDIANS FAVOR THIS?

Has our Government in its dealings with the Indians hitherto adopted a course of legislation and administration well adapted to build up their manhood and make them intelligent, self-supporting citizens?

They are the wards of the Government. Is not a guardian's first duty so to educate and care for his wards as to make them able to care for themselves? It looks like intended fraud if a guardian persists in such management of his wards and such use of their funds intrusted to him as in the light of experience clearly unfits them and will always keep them unfit for the management of their own affairs and their own property. When a guardian has in his hands funds which belong to his wards, funds which have been expressly set apart for the education of those wards, funds which from time to time he has publicly professed himself to be about to use for that particular end, yet still retains the money from year to year while his wards suffer sadly in the utter lack of proper educational facilities, we call his conduct disgraceful—an outrage and a crying iniquity. Yet our Commissioner of Indian Affairs again and again calls attention to the fact that the Government has funds, now amounting to more than $4,000,000, which are by treaty due to Indians for educational purposes alone. Who can doubt that a comprehensive plan looking to the industrial and the general education of all Indians should be undertaken at once? I hope that my friend, General Armstrong, will speak particularly upon this point this evening, indicating definitely certain ways in which these overdue funds should be paid to the Indians in educational facilities.

NO! WE PAUPERIZE THEM.

But it is not merely in neglecting to provide direct means for their education that we have been remiss in our duty to the Indians. The money and care which our Government has given to the Indians in most cases has not been wisely directed to strengthening their manhood, elevating their morals, and fitting them for intelligent citizenship. We have massed them upon reservations, fenced off from all intercourse with the better whites. We have given them no law to protect them against crimes from within the tribe—almost none to protect them against aggression from without. And above all else we have utterly neglected to teach them the value of honest labor. Nay, by rations dealt out whether needed or not, we have interfered to suspend the efficient teaching by which God leads men to love and honor labor. We have taken from them the compelling inspiration that grows out of His law, "if a man will not work, neither shall he eat!" Why, if a race inured to toil were cut off from all intercourse with the outside world, and left to roam at large over a vast territory, regularly fed by Government supplies, how many generations would pass before that race would revert to barbarism?

BY OUR INJUSTICE TOWARD THEM WE DEMORALIZE THEM.

We have held them at arm's length, cut them off from the teaching-power of good example, and given them rations and food to hold them in habits of abject laziness. A civilization like ours would soon win

upon the Indians and bring them rapidly into greater harmony with all its ideas if as a nation in our dealings with them we had shown a true spirit of humanity, civilization, and Christianity. But such a spirit cannot be discerned in the history of our legislation for the Indians or our treaties with them. We have never recognized the obligation that rests upon us as a dominant, civilized people, the strong Government, to legislate carefully, honorably, disinterestedly, for these people. We boast of the brilliant adaptations of science to practical ends and every-day uses as the distinctive mark of American progress. Where are the triumphs of social science discernable in the treatment Americans have given to this distinctively American question? We have not shown in this matter anything approaching that patient study of social conditions which England has shown for the uncivilized natives in her domain. The great mass of our legislation regarding Indians has had to do with getting land we had promised them into our possession by the promise of a price as low as we could fix and yet keep them from making border warfare upon us in sheer despair. The time of would-be reformers has been occupied too constantly in devising precautions to keep what had been appropriated from being stolen before it reached the Indians. And when it has reached them it has too often been in the form of annuities and rations that keep them physically and morally in the attitude of lazy, healthy paupers. We have not seemed to concern ourselves with the question, How can we organize, enforce, and sustain institutions and habits among the Indians which shall civilize and Christianize them? The fine old legend, *noblesse oblige*, we have forgotten in our broken trea tes and our shamefully deficient legislation.

THE WHITE MAN'S GREED OF LAND AND THE INDIAN'S LACK OF LAW.

The white man's greed of land and the red man's lack of law have long prevented the civilization of the Indian.

Let us recognize this, frankly. We shall gain nothing by shutting our eyes to facts. Broken treaties are matters of record. Shuffling with the accounts of amounts due to Indians can be shown from the books. The shameful instructions issued to special commissioners and agents to deceive Indians as to the value of lands the Government wished to purchase, and to take by show of force for a few cents an acre vast tracts known to be worth from twenty to a hundred times the price paid—all this is in the letter books and the published reports. The money promised but not paid for education and for instruction in farming is still in our hands, a foul blot upon the nation's ledger. The broken pledges of the United States toward the Indians are so numerous that a monotony of shame wearies you at their recital. Let us like honest patriots recognize clearly our country's disgrace in this matter, and then resolve to do what we can to remove it by our fair treatment of these men in the future.

BROKEN PROMISES DO NOT CIVILIZE.

Like many another man who loves his country, I once felt inclined to believe that the friends of the Indian were guilty of exaggeration when they made such sweeping charges. Not long ago a recital of the facts was made by that noble woman, Helen Hunt Jackson. (Who shall take up that work for the friendless which she would lay down at no other behest than that of the messenger who called her to her crowning?) The title she chose for her first book upon the Indian question, "A Cen-

tury of Dishonor," I resented, as did many of you, perhaps, as an unjust reflection upon our country's good name. But, my friends, we cannot change the sad facts of history which that eloquent protest rehearses. Let us not try to ignore them. No political adventurer ever broke faith with more recklessness than our Government has shown in its violation of pledges to the Indians. In the light of history, Charles the First is not more clearly guilty of making promises with the deliberate intention of gaining a point and then breaking his promise than are we guilty of having again and again made false promises, to secure our own selfish ends, in dealing with these wards of the Government. Follow the case of any one tribe—even of the Sioux, overburdened as they have been since 1862 with the terrible stigma of the Minnesota massacre. Follow the record of deceit, broken promises on the part of the Government, delayed payments in damaged goods, unjust accounts rendered, repeated removals from their homes, and then see if you can wonder that at last the patience of savages was exhausted. The indignant outburst with which one of their chieftains met a commissioner who came to renew the old promises so often broken, you will understand. If it was unjust to the individual addressed, as you follow the record it at least shows that the past actions of the Government were appreciated! As the commissioner arose to speak, the Indian chief, stung out of his stoicism by the memories of past deceptions, springing to his feet, walked to him and cried out, "All the men who come from Washington are liars. The bald-headed ones are the worst of all. You are a bald-headed liar! I don't want to hear one word from you."

There is an Indian phrase descriptive of heaven which is sadly suggestive. They call it "the place where white men *lie* no more." A bitter experience has led them to this. We have the proverb, current about May-day, "Three removes are as bad as a fire!" The Ogallalla Sioux have been forced from their homes eight times since 1863! Yet they were reported by the Commissioner at their last resting-place as making "simply marvelous progress in civilization."

It is time that the light of science and the heat of a true philanthropic love of the neglected should be brought to a focus upon the Indian question. Let the people's love of justice be awakened, and let its awakened power be shown in legislation guided by the light of earnest thought and the love of man.

CONDITION OF THE INDIAN BEFORE THE LAW.

Look at the condition of the Indian to-day before our laws. A quarter of a million of our people are utterly without the protection of law. On some fifty Indian reservations the United States has solemnly pledged itself not to administer justice between Indian and Indian. And this pledge with a fidelity rarely discernible in our treatment of Indians, our Government has kept!

"By the intercourse act of 1834, the general laws of the United States as to the punishment of crimes committed in any place within the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, except the District of Columbia, is extended to the 'Indian country,' but with the express proviso that it shall not extend to crimes committed by one Indian against the person or property of another." The theory, so far as theory governed this act, was that each tribe would preserve order and punish crime by its own laws. The fact is that crime on the reservations goes unpunished. In his last report, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs says, "a law is badly wanted for the punishment of crimes

and offenses amongst Indians themselves." "Outside the five civilized tribes in the Indian Territory who have their own legislatures, courts, and judicial machinery, and among whom life and property are as secure as they are in the States,"—these are the words of the Commmissioner—Indians can and do govern themselves well under law when they have been taught by missionaries, and by intercourse with the better whites—"the Indian is not answerable to any law for injuries committed on one of his own race in the Indian country. The result is that the most brutal and unprovoked murders are committed and the murderer goes unwhipt of justice."

THIS PUTS A PREMIUM UPON CRIME.

As an instance, take the notorious case of "Crow Dog," the chief who murdered "Spotted Tail" on the Sioux Reservation in August, 1881. The first district court of Dakota, sitting as a United States court, held that under peculiar treaty provisions and agreements with the Sioux Indians, it had jurisdiction in the case, which was unquestionably one of murder, and Crow Dog was tried, convicted, and sentenced. Upon petition for writ of habeas corpus and certiorari the United States Supreme Court held that the statutory exception was not repealed by the treaty; that the court had no jurisdiction over Indian offenders against Indians; that the conviction and sentence were void, and that his imprisonment was illegal (*ex parte* Crow Dog, 109 U. S. Reports, 556). Crow Dog was accordingly released and sent back to the reservation, in the language of the agent, "feeling of more importance than the highest chief of the nation." We can easily understand what would be the effect on the worst elements of the tribe of such an exhibition of the total lack of law for Indians. The natural results have followed.

Last year a difficulty about some horses arose between Spotted Tail, a son of the chief whom Crow Dog had murdered, and Chief White Thunder, one of the progressive men among the Sioux, who had recently induced a number of his band to begin farming, and whose influence was uniformly for law and peace. Spotted Tail took with him another young Indian, went to the camp of White Thunder, and shot him dead. The agent summoned the murderers. So bold had they become under the influence of Crow Dog's unpunished crime that the two murderers at once responded, fearlessly coming to the agent for examination. He sent them to Fort Niobrara; but when the report of the case reached the Indian Department at Washington, "this Department," says the Secretary, "had no alternative but to relunctantly order the prisoners back to the reservation."

When we remember how shamelessly the United States thus surrenders its high prerogative and proves recreant to its sacred duty of maintaining justice and protecting life on these broad expanses of its territory, the wonder is that such crimes among the Indians are not far more frequent.

SOMETIMES LAW PUNISHES INDIANS, BUT IT DOES NOT PROTECT THEM.

But while the Indian on the reservation has in law no protection for life or property against other Indians, if a difficulty arises with whites, no matter who were the aggressors, the Indian learns to know well the power of the law. There are no Indians on the juries that try him. The local prejudice against Indians is such that nothing like fairness can be expected of juries in the State and Territorial courts. Every effort is made by the Indians, on this account, to get cases involving

their rights or their alleged crimes tried in the United States courts, although this involves long, tedious, and expensive journeys.

Thus the Indian comes to know law as "prompt and swift to punish, but powerless to protect him."

When Scott wished to depict in the most striking colors the legal favoritism, the lack of justice that disgraced Scotland a hundred and fifty years ago, during the bitter party struggles between Whigs and Cavaliers, he could in no way make it more glaringly evident than by noting the currency of the saying "Show me the man and I'll show you the law."

Yet this most debasing tolerance of favoritism before the law we inculcate by example in our doctrines with the Indians. This false goddess of justice, blind to the crimes of her favorites and to the rights of all others, we set up before the Indians in the place of that impartial administration of justice, that keen regard for the rights of every man, which would help to civilize Indians and which thousands of our Anglo-Saxon race have died to make real—to perpetuate in law and government.

But some one may say, "the Indian law is allowed to govern on the reservation because certain deeds in our eyes deserving of the severest penalities are not by them regarded as criminal; and the property of Indians on the reservation is not protected by law against depredations by other Indians of their tribe, because they hold property in common. It does not need protection."

If we suppose that the motives of our legislators have been thus kindly considerate of Indian feelings, let us see how the Indian is treated when he leaves his reservation.

JUSTICE CANNOT BE HAD BY AN INDIAN.

Suppose that an Indian gets some glimpses of the higher planes of civilized life, leaves his reservation, formally severs his connection with his tribe, settles in a civilized community, and by his industry acquires property. Does our law protect him in the enjoyment of it?

Not at all. Iron Eye, an educated Omaha, made quite a sum of money in trade. This he lent to white men, taking their notes. He has been defrauded of every cent of it. His debtors have refused to pay him, simply because he was an Indian and could not appear in court to sue them. Hundreds of Indians have been defrauded in this way. Could we more forcibly take away from them all incentives to labor? It is not enough that we shut out Indians from the privileges of citizenship. It is not enough that we say to hundreds of well-educated, honorable men, many of them ministers, lawyers, and physicians of excellent cellent education: "You cannot in any way become a citizen of the United States, no matter how worthy of citizenship you prove yourself, because you are, strictly speaking, a native-born American. "The negroes who are your enfranchipated freedmen are citizens and the door of naturalization is open to any foreigner who will live among us six years, no matter how vicious or ignorant he may be; but it is shut and barred against you." This restriction would seem hard enough. But it has not been enough to satisfy the hatred which has pursued the Indian in certain quarters or to arouse from a calloused indifference the conscience of our people. Not content with this, our Government has said for years:

> There is law and justice for every man in our fair land, no matter where he was born or what his condition, save only for the Indian. There is no law to protect him; there is only law to punish him.

An Indian cannot appear in court; nor can an attorney appear for him unless especially ordered so to do by the Indian Department. Neither citizen nor foreigner nor "infant," the Indian is simply the victim of the law.

Can he safely wait for such tardy protection as he may get from the Department, thousands of miles away, and overburdened with the incongruous details which are heaped upon it by the lack of a definite Indian policy on the part of our Government?

Let us see.

An agent writes to the Indian Department:

I knew a most deserving Indian who selected a ranch 100 miles from the reservation twelve years ago. He has lived there ever since quietly, has raised seven children, has built a house and a corral. Four years ago he went to Santa Fé to get a title to his land. He paid some scoundrel $160 for a worthless paper, the man representing himself as the United States land agent. I reported these facts, and sent the paper the Indian had received from this swindler to your office, but nothing was done. That sort of work discourages others who are willing and who have both the desire and the ability to become independent men.

Of course the Department could not act in every such case. The fault is with the law, or rather the most culpable lack of law which leaves the Indian open to plunder, even offers to sharpers a bid to plunder him, by refusing him any recognition in the courts.

The amendment attached to the last Indian appropriation bill looks to the punishment by United States law of all Indians for certain grave offenses committed by Indians against one another or against whites. But the Indian is still left without the right to appear in the courts, to sue in his own name, immediately. He may still be plundered with impunity.

PREJUDICE EXAGGERATES EVIL DEEDS OF INDIANS.

And more than that, white men are shamefully indifferent to crimes committed against Indians, while every slightest deviation from absolute peacefulness on the part of an Indian toward whites, no matter under what provocation, is telegraphed all over the land as an "outrage" or a "massacre" by Indians.

In the Associated Press dispatches of August 25 I noticed this item:

BRUTAL ASSAULT ON A CHIPPEWA CHIEF.

BRAINERD, MINN., *August* 25.

Hole-in-the-Day, the noted Chippewa chief, while on his way to Saint Paul last night, was taken from a Northern Pacific train at a way-station, dragged into the woods, and so brutally beaten that he is not expected to recover. It is supposed to have been the work of whisky men, against whom he was going to testify in the Federal court.

It is whisky that causes nine-tenths of the crimes of violence among Indians. All thoughtful men among them recognize this fact. But who saw any indignant editorials at this outrage upon a chief who was attempting to preserve law and order? Suppose, on the other hand, that a noted leader of the whisky ring, a white man, had been taken from the train by Indians, even when he had been breaking the laws this chief was trying to maintain, and had been treated by Indians as white men treated this Indian. You and I know well the kind of outcry against "brutes" and "savages" that would have come from many quarters.

Is there nothing barbarous in the dispatch telegraphed to our newspapers three weeks ago:

The United States troops under Lieutenant ——— came upon the camp of Chief Geronimo, and killed a squaw, three bucks, and a child.

Put it into plain English and it reads that our troops, surprising the camp of this Indian, killed an Indian woman, three half-grown boys, and a child. If Geronimo, the savage, had come upon the camp of one of our officers and had thus slain several members of his family, among them a wife and a little child, what a sickening sense of the brutality of the savage would have come over us! Yet one white man who barely escaped with his life after a long imprisonment among Indians in a border warfare says:

> I cannot blame them much for their atrocities, because I have myself seen their children killed in cold blood by whites when they were victorious.

SO-CALLED "INDIAN UPRISINGS."

Here is an instance of the class which are often reported as massacres by Indians. The facts are from the letter-books of the agent who investigated the occurrence, and are reported by Mr. Herbert Welsh:

A few miles north of the Navajo Reservation a very quarrelsome man named Mitchell keeps a trading store. The agent had repeatedly warned the Indians to keep away from him, his ugly temper rendering a quarrel almost inevitable if one had dealings with him. Last April some of the Navajo Indians went to him to trade their clip of wool for goods. With a blameworthy disregard of appearances, but merely in jest, an Indian pointed an unloaded gun at some of Mitchell's cattle, and then at a child, his grandson, standing near the store. Mitchell fired at the Indian with his rifle, killing him instantly. He then fired at another Indian, some distance away, who was not a party to the act, wounding him seriously in the head. Hearing the firing, and knowing well what mercy Indian women may expect at such a time, two Indian women who had been in Mitchell's house were helped by his wife to escape from the back door. As they were climbing the fence in the rear of his house, Mitchell fired again at them, but missed them. The only retaliatory act of the Indians was the theft of a number of Mitchell's cattle, most of which they afterward returned. But how did this incident appear in the newspapers all over the land? It was telegraphed as a threatening outbreak on the part of the Navajos. It was a case where the lambs had been guilty of disturbing the water below where the wolf was drinking. Was not the wolf fully justified in making an end of them? If they bleat in remonstrance, telegraph it East that the lambs have risen to exterminate the defenseless wolves.

So during the excitement about the Crow Creek Reservation last spring, some ten Indians went quietly to the upper end of the reservation to cut and sell some firewood, as it had been their custom to do for years when their spring planting was done. Straightway inflammatory dispatches went out broadcast, like this one from Pierre, Dak.:

> Trouble has commenced in earnest on the Winnebago reservation; the Indians, claiming to act under the instruction of Agent Gasman, are destroying the property of the settlers wherever they can. The latter are preparing organized resistance, and *there will be some good Indians before long!* As soon as the first shot is fired, trouble will commence, and Agent Gasman had better call on the Government or cease agging the Indians on, for there is a strong feeling against him for turning the savages loose.

The fact was that as soon as the agent learned that these Indians had gone to cut wood, knowing the excited state of the public mind, he ordered them to return, although the place where they were cutting wood was several miles from the nearest white settlers. The Indians obeyed, committing no depredations.

"NO GOOD INDIAN BUT A DEAD INDIAN"—"KILL THE INDIAN IN HIM, AND SAVE THE MANHOOD."

The threatening phrase in the above disaster, "there will be some good Indians before long," I need hardly remind you is an allusion to that exquisite flower of the Christian civilization of the nineteenth century, which sums up to the satisfaction of so many men the whole Indian question, the saying, "There is no good Indian but a dead Indian." May God forgive the people of our land the frequency with which this shameful sentence has been repeated with a ribald laugh! It breathes the spirit of Cain's answer, "Am I my brother's keeper?" with the added curse of a sneer and a laugh as the blood of our brother cries out against us. It is indeed true, as that noble friend of the Indian, H. H., has somewhere said, that this mocking and heartless cry has done more to raise up friends for the Indians than has any other utterance concerning them. "Is it possible that this is the cry that voices the attitude of a civilized people (who give millions for Christian missions) toward the heathen on their own territory?" men have asked. And the noblest rejoinder I have heard came recently from the staunch hero who is at the head of the Carlisle school for Indians, Captain Pratt, who said in substance, "We accept the watch-word. There is no good Indian but a dead Indian. Let us by education and patient effort kill the Indian in him, and save the man."

If we are to do this, we must give to the Indian fair treatment and protection by law.

GIVE THE INDIAN THE GOSPEL, BUT NOT A "GOSPEL BASED ON A BROKEN DECALOGUE."

The work of Christian missionaries is all-important. No one can estimate it more highly than do I. But as a nation we have no right to say to the Indians: "We will break our treaties with you, we will withhold the funds that are your due. You shall be the only people on earth who may not freely take the broad acres we have wrested from you and make yourself a home and become a citizen. We may give you law to punish your crimes, but we will give you no law to protect your rights, yet you must take all this sweetly at our hands, because we are a Christian people, and we will send you more missionaries."

Away with a hypocrisy that shuts its eyes to the weightier matters of law and judgment. Let missionaries be sent, and in greater numbers. But there is sound sense and sound theology in the reply recently made by a friend of justice to ministers who had resolved that "what the Indian needs is not more land but more missionaries." He said, "I suppose the Indian's reply would be, 'give me law first, and I will take gospel afterwards." "A broken decalogue seems to have been always a poor foundation for the gospel to rest upon."

As a help to killing the Indian in him, and saving and strengthening manhood, then, I say send more missionaries, but first give him his rights as a man. Let our acts show that we believe in both decalogue and gospel.

Protect the Indian from the white man's greed of land and the red man's lack of law. Give him law, such law as the rest of us have. Give him land—land of his own, for each man. Let us cease to juggle with our own conscience and with the Indian's sense of justice by saying, the reason why we take your reservation away from you is because it is

now worth something. We steal your lands because they have become worth stealing, don't you see!

Objectively, then, and because of his relations with the whites, the Indian needs the educating influence of law such as protects other men and of land of his own. And now from the subjective point of view, what elements in the Indian problem, what forces at work from within the tribe, delay the progress of the Indian toward his ultimate goal, intelligent Christian citizenship?

Two peculiarities which mark the Indian life, if retained, will render his progress slow, uncertain and difficult. These are:

(1) The tribal organization.

(2) The Indian reservation.

THE TRIBAL ORGANIZATION MUST BE BROKEN UP.

I am satisfied that no man can carefully study the Indian question without the deepening conviction that these institutions must go if we would save the Indian from himself.

And first, the tribe. Politically it is an anomaly—an *imperium in imperio*. Early in our history, when whites were few and Indians were relatively numerous and were grouped in tribes with something approaching to a rude form of government, it was natural, it was inevitable, that we should treat with them as tribes. It would have been hopeless for us to attempt to modify their tribal relations. But now the case is entirely different. There is hardly one tribe outside the five civilized tribes of the Indian Territory which can merit the name of an organized society or which discharges the simplest functions of government. Disintegration has long been the rule. Individualism, the key-note of our socio-political ideas in this century, makes itself felt by sympathetic vibrations even in the rude society of the Indian tribes. There is little of the old loyalty to a personal chief as representing a governing authority from the Great Spirit. Perhaps there never was so much of this as some have fancied among the Indians. Certainly there are few signs of it now. A passive acquiescence in the mild leadership of the promising son of a former leader, among the peaceable tribes of the southwest, or a stormy hailing by the young braves of a new and reckless leader, bloodthirsty for a raid upon the whites—these are the chief indications of the survival of the old spirit.

Indian chiefs are never law-makers, seldom even in the rudest sense law-enforcers. The councils where the chief is chosen are too often blast-furnaces of anarchy, liquefying whatever forms of order may have established themselves under a prdecessor. The Indians feel the animus of the century. As personal allegiance to a cheiftain and the sense of tribal unity wanes, what is taking its place? Literally, nothing. In some cases educated but immoral and selfish leaders take advantage of the old traditions to acquire influence which they abuse. On the whole, however, a rude, savage individuality is developing itself, but not under the guidance of law, moral, civil, or religious.

Surely the intelligence of our nation should devise and enforce a remedy for this state of affairs.

THE SENTIMENTAL VIEW OF THE TRIBE.

A false sentimental view of the tribal organization commonly presents itself to those who look at this question casually. It takes form in such objections as this:

> The Indians have a perfect right to bring up their children in the old devotion to the tribe and the chief. To require anything else of them is unreasonable. These are their ancestral institutions. We have no right to meddle with them.

The correction for this false view seems to me to come from the study of the tribe and its actual effects upon the family and upon the manhood of the individual.

The highest right of man is the right to be a man, with all that this involves. The tendency of the tribal organization is constantly to interfere with and frustrate the attainment of this highest manhood. The question whether parents have a right to educate their children to regard the tribal organization as supreme, brings us at once to the consideration of the family.

And here I find the key to the Indian problem. More than any other idea, this consideration of the family and its proper sphere in the civilizing of races and in the development of the individual, serves to unlock the difficulties which surround legislation for the Indian.

THE TRIBE DWARFS AND BLIGHTS THE FAMILY.

The family is God's unit of society. On the integrity of the family depends that of the State. There is no civilization deserving of the name where the family is not the unit in civil government. Even the extreme advocates of individualism must admit that the highest and most perfect personality is developed through those relations which the family renders possible and fosters. And from the point of view of land and law, students generally are at one with Sir Henry Maine when he says, in his latest work:

> I believe I state the inference suggested by all known legal history when I say there can be no material advance in civilization unless landed property is held by groups at least as small as families. (Maine, Early History of Institutions, p. 126.)

IT CUTS THE NERVE OF EFFORT.

The tribal organization, with its tenure of land in common, with its constant divisions of goods and rations per capita without regard to service rendered, cuts the nerve of all that manful effort which political economy teaches us proceeds from the desire for wealth. True ideas of property with all the civilizing influences that such ideas excite are formed only as the tribal relation is outgrown.

LABOR MAKES MEN MANLY.

The fact that robbery is said to be almost unknown among Indians within the tribe is largely explained by the fact that property, too, in the true sense of the word, is almost unknown. There is an utter barbarism in which property has almost no existence. The tribal organization tends to retain men in such barbarism. It is a great step gained when you awaken in an Indian the desire for the acquisition of property of his own, by his own honest labor. Every honest day's work done and paid for is a stroke of missionary work. It not only puts the Indian under silent but powerful pledges to preserve the peace and respect law, that so his own property may be safe. It does what is still more important. It cultivates in him those qualities the absence of which most sadly marks the savage. It cultivates the habit of looking to the future and of seeking to modify the future for one's self by one's own efforts. And this habit persevered in develops, along a low plane of action perhaps, but effectively develops that power which is the highest prerogative of man as it is the distinctive mark which sets off man from the animals he governs—will power intelligently and voluntarily exercised in subjection to law.

The desire for the acquisition of property is not, as some writers on political economy have represented it to be, the sole motive that sways society or governs the development of mankind. But it is on the whole the mainspring that daily keeps in motion the mechanism of the world's daily routine. It is chiefly the affections and interests of family life that take out of this desire for gain its debasing element, its utter selfishness.

THE TRIBAL SYSTEM PARALYZES LABOR.

But the tribal system paralyzes at once the desire for property and the family life that ennobles that desire. Where the annuities and rations that support a tribe are distributed to the industrious and the lazy alike, while almost all property is held in common, there cannot be any true stimulus to industry. And where the property which a deceased father has called his own is at the funeral feast distributed to his adult relatives, or squandered in prolonged feasting, while no provision whatever is made for the widow or the children, how can the family be perpetuated, or the ideal of the permanence and the preciousness of this relation become clear and powerful. Yet this is the custom in by far the greater number of the Indian tribes.

IT PREVENTS ALL ACCUMULATION OF PROPERTY FOR THE BENEFIT OF CHILDREN.

Observation has shown that there is a direct proportion between the length of time during which infancy and immaturity are protected, trained and cared for by the parents, and the capacity of the race for education and advancement on the part of the individual. This law holds good among animals and among men. A well-known American author has made this idea of the extended duration of a protected and cherished childhood exceedingly prominent in a recent work, and has based upon it certain of his prophecies as to the "Destiny of Man."

Apply this principle to the tribal law which enforces a division of the father's property at his decease among his adult relatives. How sadly it shortens the period of protected childhood, already too brief! Homer's picture of the unfriended, hungry, fatherless child, the sport of the rude, neglected of all, is before the eyes constantly on our reservations. Children weazened, prematurely aged, taught by grim necessity to shift for themselves with fox-like craft, are even more common on the reservation than they are in the worst quarters of our great cities. That prolonged fostering care of children which is essential to civilization can be secured only as the family and the home are held sacred.

A series of questions was propounded in a circular recently issued by the Indian Rights Association, for the purpose of taking soundings along a course of proposed legislation. While opinions as to many points suggested are widely divergent, even diametrically opposed to one another, the agents and missionaries who reply are almost unanimous in recommending at once legislation to secure the descent of property to children, to prevent polygamy, and to provide homesteads. You see how these points concerning which there is substantial unity, are the three points which determine the circle. The family circle should be the controlling idea of all legislation and all administrative reform in Indian affairs.

The gravest charge against the tribal organization, then, is that it tends to dwarf and blight the family. Tribal relations interfere with family grouping, and there is no sound progress in civilization until

land begins to be held and property to be accumulated by groups at least as small as the family.

Character, too, is worked out in the relations of the family, first; then in the relations of the larger society, the State.

THE REIGN OF LAW.

The problem before us is, how shall we educate these men-children into that great conception of the reign of law, moral, civil, and political, to which they are now strangers? Moral convictions are theirs, of course. "A good Indian"—one whom his fellow tribes-men call good—"would be recognized as a good man anywhere," says one who has passed years among them. But the conception of that reign of law which constantly presides over all our thinking and doing, for the most part silent, felt only when we attempt to break with it, the growth of centuries coloring all our conceptions and conditioning our life like the atmosphere we breathe—how utterly foreign is all this to the tribal and reservation life of the Indian! We seek to give them this idea, believing that the idea of law, clearly apprehended and intelligently and voluntarily obeyed, will work a marvelous transformation in them. It is hoped that we may thus do for them in two generations what some other barbaric races have been centuries in accomplishing. How are we to accustom them to a difference as great as that between obeying the order of a chieftain, seen, known, perhaps regarded with affection, or blindly conforming to tribal customs they have never seen broken, and obedience rendered to an impersonal law, emanating from a source thousands of miles away and from an order of things unknown to them?

As the allegiance to tribe and chieftain is weakened, its place should be taken by the sanctities of family life and an allegiance to the laws which grow naturally out of the family! Lessons in law for the Indian should begin with the developing and the preservation, by law, of those relations of property and of social intercourse which spring out of and protect the family. First of all, he must have

LAND IN SEVERALTY.

Land in severalty, on which to make a home for his family. This land the Government should, where necessary, for a few years hold in trust for him or his heirs, inalienable and unchargeable. But it shall be his. It shall be patented to him as an individual. He shall hold it by what the Indians who have been hunted from reservation to reservation pathetically call, in their requests for justice, "a paper-talk from Washington, which tells the Indian what land is his so that a white man cannot get it away from him." "There is no way of reaching the Indian so good as to show him that he is working for a home. Experience shows that there is no incentive so strong as the confidence that by long, untiring labor, a man may secure a home for himself and his family." The Indians are no exception to this rule. There is in this consciousness of a family-hearth, of land and a home in prospect as permanently their own, an educating force which at once begins to lift these savages out of barbarism and sends them up the steep toward civilization, as rapidly as easy divorce laws are sending some sections of our country down the slope toward barbaric heathenism?

CASE OF THE OMAHAS.

This idea of the family, the highest product of modern civilization, yet at the same time the most natural grouping of mankind, is proving.

wherever we use it, to be a renovating and healing force for the Indians which surpasses belief. See how Miss Fletcher touched that key, in her labors with the Omahas, by her patient investigations, her complete registration of all the family groups, and her endowment of each home-unit, each family, with its homestead, the land that is to prove the stay of the home! And note the quick results! In August, 1882, the law for the Omahas was approved. In 1884, the allotments were completed, 76,000 acres having been allotted in 954 separate allotments, to 1,194 persons, wives receiving their lands with their respective husbands. Fifty-five thousand acres remain, to be given in trust-patents to the children who may be born during the years of trust; for here the Government protects the Indian by giving him a patent in trust, the land to be inalienable for a term of years. Without some such safeguard, chief White Eagle said to Senator Dawes, "my people could not at first live among the whites, they would be picked as bare as a plucked bird, in six months." These trust-patents protect the Indians until they shall have gained some experience in the management of property, and shall have had extended over them that protection of the law and of citizenship which the justice-loving people of our land will not much longer refuse them.

In his report for 1884, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, after noting the completion of this allotment, the eagerness of the Indians to secure allotments as near as possible to white settlers, for the benefit of their example as well as to be near the markets, and the growing wealth and independence of the Omahas, says:

> I looked with favor on this feeling of independence amongst the Omahas, believing that it was inspired by proper motives.
>
> Therefore, on their request, made in council, I instructed the agent of the Omahas to discharge all agency employés at the Omaha Agency on the 30th day of last September, except the school employés and one person who is to remain there to act as physician and farmer and who will look after the interests of the Government and the Indians and keep this office informed of the progress of affairs there, and who will be retained until his services can be dispensed with. The agent was further instructed to turn over to the Omaha councilmen, in trust for the tribe, the mills, shops, dwellings, school-houses, live stock, and all public property on the Omaha Reservation. While this is an experiment, it is believed that it will prove to be successful, and that the Omahas will demonstrate the wisdom of the methods now pursued by the Department looking to the ultimate civilization and independence of all the Indian tribes.

THE HOMESTEAD AND THE FAMILY CIVILIZE.

Thus the family and a homestead prove the salvation of those whom the tribal organization and the reservation were debasing. It was a step in advance when Agent Miles began to issue rations to families instead of to the headmen of the tribe. Every measure which strengthens the family tie and makes clearer the idea of family life, in which selfish interests and inclinations are sacrificed for the advantage of the whole family, is a powerful influence toward civilization.

In this way, too, family affection and care for the education and the virtue of the young are promoted. Thus such law as is necessary to protect virtue, to punish offenses against purity, and to abolish polygamy, will be welcomed by the Indians. These laws enforced will help still further to develop true family feeling. Family feeling growing stronger and stronger as all the members of the family work on their own homestead for the welfare of the home, will itself incline all toward welcoming the reign of law, and will increase the desire of all for systematic education. The steadying, educating effect of property will take hold upon these improvident children of the West, who have for

too long lived as if the injunction, "Take no thought for the morrow," in its literal sense, were their only law.

We must as rapidly as possible break up the tribal organization and give them law, with the family and land in severalty as its central idea. We must not only give them law, we must force law upon them. We must not only offer them education, we must force education upon them. Education will come to them by complying with the forms and the requirements of the law.

LET INDIANS LEARN LAW BY OBEYING AND EXECUTING LAW.

The Indian courts already organized in connection with some of the agencies have a high educational value. As policemen, as roadmasters, as mail carriers, as commissioners to appraise property and set their people on the road toward civilization, Indians are already fitting themselves for citizenship by discharging the duties of citizens. As jurymen, as judges, quick to discern the equity of a case, and often detecting at once the crucial point by their familiarity with Indian life, where a lawyer or a judge less familiar with Indian customs would waste hours in the effort, or miss the point altogether—in this practical dealing with law, as administrative, executive, and even as judicial officers, whose decisions are subject to revision, the Indians will be more rapidly civilized than by generations of exhortation on the days when they might be gathered in abject, huddling crowds, to receive rations as Government alms.

This method of educating Indians by land and law will take patience and will involve expense. But on the lowest plane, financially, it will pay. Every soldier we keep upon the plains costs us about $1,000 a year, say the Washington officials. The chief, we might almost say the only, demand for their presence there is to watch the Indians. The same amount of money systematically spent in the wise effort to control the Indian by regard for law from within, instead of compelling him by brute force from without, while it would civilize him, would be a saving of expense to us.

It is easy to attack the tribal organization from the political point of view, as a petty foreign power tolerated upon our territory in defiance of the sovereignty of the United States. Congress in this view of the case decided some fourteen years ago no longer to treat with the Indians as tribes. But a far graver objection to the tribal organization is that it prevents the development of the family, and shuts out the reign of law. These agglomerations of human beings, neither citizens nor aliens, regarded by our law neither as independent powers nor as individual persons responsible to our laws, are utterly foreign, not only to the spirit of our Government, but to all conceptions of government by law. These foreign masses in our body politic must be comminuted, broken up into family groups and individuals. Only so can they be assimilated into the organic life of our land. And this trituration of the tribal mass into a component and homogeneous part of the larger state must be accomplished by the agency of law. Put the Indian under law at once. Retain the agent and the agency courts as a temporary makeshift for a little time, with power to accommodate somewhat to particular cases and to the peculiar life of the Indians the strictly impersonal law that comes from a source thousands of miles away. But is there not much less danger to the best interests of the Indian from a law, strange to him, yet on the whole well adapted to the conditions of the territories in which he lives, than in the lack of law or in the continuance of that

special guardianship which keeps whole tribes in the condition of Government-fed infants? Let them have more of protection by law, less of enforced infancy.

Let them learn to walk by walking, although they get some falls. There is a vast civilizing power in the object-teaching of the simpler forms of law such as General Milroy has with brilliant success introduced upon the Yakima Reservation in Washington Territory. The transforming power of our legal and political institutions, our educational system and our laws, upon certain immigrants who come to our shores hardly more civilized that the average Indian, should make us hopeful. The children of such immigrants are our law-abiding, industrious citizens.

THE RESERVATION SYSTEM IS A CRYING EVIL.

But the children of such immigrants have been brought up in an atmosphere of Christian civilization. They have become fully civilized by that attrition with civilized men which soonest and most surely leads to civilization. The mightiest of all teaching forces is example—constant association with those whom they wish to imitate transforms men as does no other process.

From this all-powerful civilizing force, example, we carefully exclude the Indians. We herd them by themselves on vast, vacant reservations.

While we profess to desire their civilization, we adopt in the Indian reservation the plan which of all possible plans seems most carefully designed to preserve the degrading customs and the low moral standards of heathen barbarism. Take a barbaric tribe, place them upon a vast tract of land from which you carefully exclude all civilized men, separate them by hundreds of miles from organized civil society and the example of reputable white settlers, and having thus insulated them in empty space, doubly insulate them from Christian civilization by surrounding them with sticky layers of the vilest, most designingly wicked men our century knows, the whisky-selling whites and the debased half-breeds who infest the fringes of our reservations, men who have the vices of the barbarian plus the worst vices of the reckless frontiersman and the city criminal, and then endeavor to incite the electrifying, life-giving currents of civilized life to flow through this doubly insulated mass. If an Indian now and then gets glimpses of something better and seeks to leave this seething mass of in-and-in breeding degradation, to live in a civilized community, give him no protection by law and no hope of citizenship. If he has won his way as many have done through the highest institutions of learning, with honor, tell him that he may see many of our largest cities ruled by rings of men, many of whom are foreigners by birth, ignorant, worthless, yet naturalized citizens, but that he must not hope to vote or to hold office.

If he says "I will be content to accumulate property, then," tell him, "you may do so; but any one who chooses may withhold your wages, refuse to pay you money he has borrowed, plunder you as he will, and our law gives you no redress." Thus we drive the honest and ambitious Indian, as we do the criminals, back to the tribe and the reservation; and cutting them off from all hopes of bettering themselves while we feed their laziness on Government rations, we complain that they are not more ambitious and industrious.

Christian missionaries plunge into these reservations, struggle with the mass of evil there, and feeling that bright children can be best educated in the atmosphere of civilization, they send to Eastern institutions

these Indian children plucked like fire-stained brands from the reservations. They are brought to our industrial training schools. The lesson taught by the comparison of their photographs when they come and when they go is wonderful.

The years of contact with ideas and with civilized men and Christian women so transform them that their faces shine with a wholly new light, for they have indeed "communed with God." They came children; they return young men and young women; yet they look younger in the face than when they came to us. The prematurely aged look of hopeless heathenism has given way to that dew of eternal youth which marks the difference between the savage and the man who lives in the thoughts of an eternal future.

THE RESERVATION IS A TRAINING CLASS FOR CRIMINALS.

Yet such is the effect of maintaining our tribal and reservation policy that we send back these young men and women not to a life where a home and a family could be transformed by their influence, but into this tribal mass sodden in the prejudices of centuries of heathenism, where they gasp in vain for civilized occupations and example, until the pressure of race instincts and the waves of ridicule too often close over their better hopes and habits and aspirations as the waves of the ocean close over the life-hungry face of a drowning man. No wonder that when the Lake Mohonk conference of friends of the Indian called upon Captain Pratt to speak of the condition of those pupils of the Carlisle school who have gone back to the reservations, he arose with a great groan and with the exclamation, "That eternal 'go back!' That is the hopeless side of efforts at Indian education."

Why, when we have educated a few dozens or hundreds of these children in something like the ways of civilized life, what are they, the youngest among so many. We send them back to the reservations. But by our infamous treaty stipulations, we are supposed to be bound to send back with them all the criminals of the tribe. Suppose the advent upon a reservation on the same day of a boy from an Eastern school, half-abashed before his aged relatives to whom he seems by dress, speech, and manner almost a deserter from his race, and of Crow Dog, the released murderer, for six months a prisoner, constantly talked of in the tribe, known to be a criminal deserving of punishment, but returning now, bold, blatant, defiant of law and of white men, and allowed to run at large in the reservation, horsed and armed, bragging, and eager to form a band of reckless young men to follow him in deeds of lawlessness. Which of the two, the educated boy or the criminal chief, is likely to have the larger crowd of listeners and imitators among the young men who have all the savage, lawless instincts of their ancestors?

We are in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Japan has opened her ports. China's wall has fallen. But American legislation perpetuates these sinks of iniquity, the Indian reservations, where human beings are pauperized by unearned and unnecessary rations, and are condemned to association with barbarous armed criminals who become perforce the heroes and examples of the young.

BREAK UP THE RESERVATION, BUT PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIAN.

Break up the reservation. Its usefulness is past. Treat it as we treat the fever-infected hospital when life has so often yielded to disease within

its walls that we see clearly the place is in league with the powers of death, and the fiat goes forth, "though this was planned as a blessing it has proved to be a curse; away with it! burn it!"

SETTLE WHITES AMONG THE INDIANS.

Guard the rights of the Indian, but for his own good break up his reservations. Let in the light of civilization. Plant in alternate sections or townships white farmers, who will teach him by example. Reserve all the lands he needs for the Indian. Give land by trust-deed in severalty to each family.

Among the parts of the reservation to be so assigned to Indians in severalty retain alternate ranges or townships for white settlers. Let only men of such character as a suitable commission would approve be allowed to file on these lands. Let especial advantages in price of land, and in some cases let a small salary be offered, to induce worthy farmers thus to settle among the Indians as object-teachers of civilization. Let the parts of the reservations not needed be sold by the Government for the benefit of the Indians, and the money thus realized be used to secure this wise intermingling of the right kind of civilized men with the Indians. Over all, extend the law of the States and Territories, and let Indian and white man stand alike before the law.

It is my firm conviction that a plan of this kind can be devised which will meet a response from settlers of the right stamp quicker and more generous than could be accounted for by the mere money inducements offered.

There is a great mission work to be done by laymen and farmers for these Indians. The spirit that settled Kansas in the interest of liberty and fair play for all men, however despised, is not yet dead in our land. And while I see clearly many difficulties in the way, I believe they can all be met in a plan that shall gradually substitute homes and family life for the tribal organization; settlements of mingled whites and Indians for the reservation system; and the reign of law, with the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, for the state of unprotected anarchy to which we have hitherto condemned the Indian.

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPLES AND PROPOSITIONS.

Some results of our discussion of this subject may be set forth in the following propositions:

(1) The aim of legislation for the Indian should be to make him as soon as possible an intelligent, useful citizen.

(2) To this end his personality must be respected. His individuality must be strengthened.

(3) The rule of law is essential to this. The tribe enforces no law. What law shall we give him?

(4) The family has always been the true unit of the State, the best school for the development of character. Legislation for the Indian should begin with the strengthening and purifying of his conception of the family.

(5) That family life may be fostered and protected, and through it the individual may be developed into intelligent manhood, the tribal relation should be weakened, as soon as possible destroyed. No more of the "*imperium in imperio.*" Treat with Indians as families and individuals. Extend the law over them as individuals. Give them land as individuals. Punish them as individuals. Give them the right to sue immediately.

(6) The home is the altar of the family. Secure for the Indians titles to land for homesteads before it is too late. Give them land in severalty with a protected title. Let each family profit by the labors and virtues of its members.

(7) The Indian reservation prevents all these desirable results, insulates Indians from civilization, cultivates vice, is a domain for lawlessness licensed by the United States.

(8) The reservation must go, but the rights of the Indians must be protected. Where the reservations include more land than the Indians need for ample homesteads, the Government, making allotments of the best to the Indians in severalty, should open the rest to settlers for the benefit of the Indians, using the money thus obtained to promote their education and civilization.

(9) The ideal plan (which I believe to be also a practicable plan) is to reserve alternate sections, ranges, or townships among the Indian allotments for white settlers, of character approved by a philanthropic and experienced commission. Offer special inducements to reputable white settlers to occupy these farms. Thus "object teaching" in thrifty farming will go forward on a large scale.

(10) A comprehensive, systematic plan of general and industrial education for all Indians should be at once entered epon. The four millions of money furnished for this end, but long retained in our national treasury, is a national disgrace.

(11) Appropriations for Indians should be rapidly decreased along all lines that lead to pauperism, and increased along all lines that tend toward educated self-support.

(12) The agent is the pivot of the present system. While it is continued the best men who can be obtained should be kept in their responsible positions; and to this end, agents should be far better paid.

(13) Christian missionaries, teachers, and farmers among the Indians, and the awakening of moral thoughtfulness among our people about Indian rights are the means to the civilization of the Indian; proper legislation devised and enforced by these must be the method; and the intelligent citizenship of the Indian will be the result.

APPENDIX.

A.

REPORT OF THE PURCHASING COMMITTEE.

SIR: The purchasing committee of the Board of Indian Commissioners respectfully submit their annual report for the year 1885, as follows:

Sealed proposals for the annuity goods, supplies, and transportation for the Indian service were opened and publicly read on the 5th day of May, in compliance with advertisement from the Indian Bureau at Washington, at the Government warehouse, Nos. 65 and 67 Wooster street, New York City, in the presence of the Hon. J. D. C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Mr. J. J. S. Hassler, representing the Hon. Secretary of the Interior, and the following members of the Board of Indian Commissioners, General Clinton B. Fisk, General E. Whittlesey, Albert K. Smiley, Merrill E. Gates, William McMichael, William T. Johnson, John Charlton, and William H. Lyon.

A large number of bidders were present, also reporters from the leading city papers.

The competition among bidders was much greater than at any previous opening of bids since the organization of the Board.

Four hundred and thirty-three bids were received and opened, from which one hundred and eighty-one contracts were made after a very careful examination of the large quantity of samples by Commissioner Atkins, Mr. Hassler, and your committee, assisted by the following parties, who were appointed inspectors to examine the articles when delivered, and to see that they were equal in every respect to the samples from which the awards were made: H. J. Goodwin, for dry goods: A. F. Dohrman, for groceries; A. T. Anderson, for clothing; J. T. Faulkner, for hats and caps; G. G. Nason, for boots and shoes; E. L. Cooper, for agricultural implements, hardware, &c.; C. A. Schofield, for harness and leather; C. C. Huntington, for hardware delivery; F. A. Judson, for school books; E. R. Livermore, for flour; W. F. Elliott, for medicines.

A few articles in dry goods, blankets, shawls, and hosiery were rejected by the inspector when delivered as not equal to the samples from which the awards were made.

The bids for beef for the Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Crow Creek, and Yankton Agencies were considered too high and were rejected. Another advertisement calling for bids for these agencies, to be opened June 10, resulted in a saving to the Government of nearly $38,000.

The quantity of beef called for seems to increase every year and probably will continue to increase until lands in severalty are allotted to the Indians and practical farmers employed to instruct them in farming and stock-raising.

As usual the awards for agricultural implements, farm wagons, household furniture, cooking utensils, &c., were made to Western manufacturers and were inspected and shipped by Mr. E. L. Cooper who has served the Government as inspector for many years past in a most faithful and satisfactory manner.

In his report to your committee he says: "That awards were made to manufacturers in the following places: Ilion, Auburn, and Seneca Falls, N. Y.; Toledo, Springfield, and Cincinnati, Ohio; Three Rivers and Jackson, Mich.; Chicago, Sterling, Moline, Joliet, and Quincy, Ill.; Burlington, Iowa; Lawrence and Leavenworth, Kans.; Saint Louis and Kansas City, Mo., and Nashville, Tenn., and that he inspected and shipped from these places 21,961 packages, consisting of plows, cultivators, mowers, reapers, thrashers, farm wagons, wagon fixtures, a great variety of smaller agricultural implements, barbed-wire fencing, hardware, woodenware, stoves, tinware, furniture, school desks, window-glass, and many other articles, nearly all of which he found fully up to the samples from which the awards were made and that the agricultural machines and implements were exceptionally good and the prices in many cases were lower than to regular dealers."

Your committee are pleased to report that the demand for the above-named articles has increased during the past year morethan 25 per cent., and in their judgment nothing

will lead the adult Indian more directly to civilization than to become familiar with the uses of agricultural implements, household furniture, cooking utensils, &c.

The business at the Government warehouse, Nos. 65 and 67 Wooster street, New York, has been much larger the past season than ever before. The number of packages received between July 1 and November 21, increased from 30,530 in 1884 to 48,525 in 1885, all of which were inspected, weighed, and shipped to the different Indian agencies and not one package failed to reach its proper destination.

Full particulars of all articles purchased, prices paid, and where delivered will be found in the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (abstract of awards).

WILLIAM H. LYON,
Chairman Purchasing Committee.

Hon. CLINTON B. FISK,
Chairman of Board Indian Commissioners.

B.

REPORT OF COMMISSIONERS CHARLTON AND SMILEY.

May 9, 1885.

SIR: In compliance with the vote of the Board, we attended the anniversary of the Carslile Training School on the 6th instant.

Of the large number of Government officials and people of prominence invited by Captain Pratt to witness the "sixth annual examination" of the school under his charge a few only were present, the majority being prevented by previous engagements. Those who were so fortunate as to have the opportunity of attending the examination, and of witnessing for themselves the surprising results of systematic, painstaking, and patient instruction with apparently the most forbidding and unpromising subjects, will not soon forget the impressions produced, nor the new light received.

After an early breakfast, Captain Pratt proposed to his guests a visit to the several workshops connected with the school. Here were found apprentices and employés engaged in tailoring, shoe-making, harness-making, blacksmithing, carpentering, tinning, painting, printing, and baking. Each of these departments was in charge of a master-mechanic, who directed the operations of his apprentices and instructed them in their work; and better work we have seldom or never seen executed. It is the uniform testimony of those who have had to do with them that while the negro will acquire an education or trade much more rapidly than an Indian, yet there is a wide difference between the two races in other respects. While stolidity and indifference appear to be national characteristics of the latter, vivacity, love of praise and imitation are inseparable from the former. Hence, while the Indian is slower to acquire either mechanical or mental knowledge, he is, nevertheless, more painstaking, more thorough, and much more reliable than his dark-skinned brother.

Some, and indeed most of the work executed by the Indians in the workshops at Carlisle, will compare favorably with work of equal value done by white men anywhere. In examining the handiwork of an Indian youth on a set of light harness, we were more than confirmed in the above opinion. The shoes made here may possibly lack the delicate finish of those made in the manufactories, but there is no question as to their wearing qualities. We examined critically the wood and iron-work on a light express wagon in course of construction, and were surprised, not only at the excellence of the work, but also at the evidences of a desire to excel that were plainly visible.

The necessity for a new dining-room and laundry was so pressing that Captain Pratt conceived the project of erecting a building that would be suitable for these and other uses. Having perfected his plans and secured the material, he set his men at work, and soon a handsome and commodious structure of two stories—one 16 feet and one 12—the main building being 125 feet long by 50 feet wide, and a wing 80 by 36 feet occupied a place on one side of the campus that seemed to be specially fitted for it. This building, well and substantially constructed, largely by Indian labor, and capable of seating 550 persons, cost in round numbers $8,000, a sum less by one-third than the same work could have been done by skilled workmen. The education in this branch of mechanics was acquired in the carpenter shop. The tailoring department, in which is manufactured all the clothing worn by the boys of the school, was conducted with like efficiency, and we were informed by the superintendent that a short time before, when the foreman and cutter resigned his position, the work of cutting, fitting, and manufacturing was carried on by one of the apprentices with the same regularity, precision, and success as it was

under the former manager. A visit to the tin-shop and an examination of the wares was all that was needed to convince any one that the Indian apprentice was not very far behind his more boastful and pretentious white brother. The Morning Star, a handsome eight-page monthly journal, a product of the school, is set up and printed on a half-medium Gordon press by Indian boys exclusively. This interesting little paper gives a summary of the news of the month and all items of interest relating to the school; and to those interested in the physical, moral, and spiritual condition of the Indian we know of no better medium by which to learn of them. The bakery, in which a barrel and a half of flour is used daily, is conducted by two Indian youths, who do their work thoroughly and satisfactorily. The laundry, and also the department for instructing the girls how to make and mend their own garments, were well worth visiting, and in the latter room we were shown specimens of needle-work that it would be difficult to improve on. They seemed to be as familiar with the use of the sewing-machine as their teacher.

It may possibly occur to some one who reads this that we have dwelt needlessly long on the mechanical education of the pupils at this excellent school, but, if so, the only apology we have to offer is that in our estimation a good mechanic, one who has a thorough knowledge of a useful trade, is of infinitely more value to himself and to the community among which he selects his residence than a score of professional men or mere laborers.

Dr. O. G. Given, the physician in charge, kindly conducted us through the hospital, which looked to us so inviting that it seemed as if it might be a luxury to be sick a little while. The beds and rooms were spotlessly clean, and the ventilation seemed to be perfect. At the time of our visit there were but two boys under treatment.

Our next objective point was the school, which was divided up into nine departments, commencing with the primary and ending with the grammar, or most advanced, classes. Each room was in charge of a lady teacher, selected for their tact and ability, and who appeared to possess the entire confidence and respect of their scholars. The studies consisted for the most part in reading, writing, grammar, United States history, geography, arithmetic, elementary geometry, and occasionally drawing, the attainments of some of the scholars in this regard being simply wonderful. The acquisitions in learning of the older boys and girls who have attended the school for three or more years furnish the most conclusive evidence of their capability to receive any education that may be given to their white brother or sister. They demonstrated that their possibilities for usefulness, not only to themselves, but also to all with whom they may be associated in life, are almost limitless, and that the man who conceived the idea that it was infinitely more profitable to educate than to exterminate the Indian was a large-hearted philanthropist worthy of all praise.

It is not our purpose at this time or in this connection to eulogize unduly any one attached to this model school, but we may with propriety say in passing that its present superintendent is, in our opinion, admirably adapted, both by nature and education, to be at the head of an institution of this description. We think that Captain Pratt is a strong, self-reliant man, capable of governing himself while he governs and controls others; a man of deep religious convictions, whose daily life exemplifies and illustrates the Golden Rule, who has studied the Indian problem in all its phases, and who is doing much to unravel it and set right a public sentiment that has been going wrong for centuries. We believe that his heart and soul are in the work, and that he engages in it because of his love for it.

The various exercises in the several departments of the school consumed a large portion of the forenoon, and before we were aware of it the hour of noon arrived, and an opportunity was afforded the visitors to witness the seating at the tables of four hundred children, who marched to their places without crowding, hurry, or the slightest sign of disorder of any kind. At the tap of a bell in the hands of a lady every head was bowed while a clergyman present invoked the Divine blessing on the food. The carving and serving were done by two of the larger boys at each table, who seemed to be experts at the business.

The hour fixed for the exercises of the afternoon having arrived, the entire body of scholars was marched to the new dining-hall which, had been fitted up with a temporary platform and seats not only for the scholars, but also for a large audience as well. After all were seated and order restored, Captain Pratt addressed the audience in a few appropriate remarks, in which he thanked the ladies and gentlemen present for their attendance, and regretted that many to whom he had extended invitations were prevented from being there. The first piece on the programme—"America"—was then announced; and had it been our fortune to have listened to the music without seeing who produced it it would have been impossible to say whether it was by white or red children. Its rendering seemed to us in every way similar to that with which we are all so familiar in our public schools. An original "Speech of Welcome," by Miss Jemima Wheelock, was

handsomely delivered and enthusiastically received by the audience. This young lady has attended school at one of the agencies for some years, and latterly at Carlisle, and a more perfect transformation from the original it is scarcely possible to conceive. Here, standing before a large audience unabashed, and yet with that modesty that adds so much grace to and beautifies her sex, was a fine-looking young woman, who, if she had been left to herself and her associations, as thousands like her have been, would be the occupant of a miserable tepee, begrimed with dirt and smoke, and half-clad, without respect for herself, and treated by others with but little more consideration than is accorded to a domestic animal. As we looked at her it really seemed that in proportion to the receptiveness of her mind for education and culture, so was the reflex action on her person. Her eyes were windows through which an awakened soul gazed, her face became fairer and more attractive, her confidence in her new-found powers developed rapidly, and she stood before her audience that day a most forcible illustration of what might be done with ten thousand such girls were the men who make our laws only willing to do that which they know so well ought to be done for her people and kindred. The next exercise was by a "primary class in language," eight months in English, consisting of eight of the youngest scholars, each of whom showed remarkable proficiency for so short a time. "Kindergarten recitation," by eleven of the primary scholars, was next in order, and all gave evidence of their familiarity with the principles sought to be inculcated. "Class work," numbers—one year's training—by nine children from various wild tribes, was very interesting, and they acquitted themselves with credit. "Class-work with molding-board"—first year in geography followed, and the answers given to the many questions proved conclusively that those who gave them understood perfectly what they were doing. Singing—"Harvest Moon," by the school, was admirably rendered. Exercises in "fractional reduction," in "elements of geometry," in "recitation," singing, cornet playing, and many other things that we cannot take time to enumerate here, consumed two of the pleasantest hours we have enjoyed for years and made impressions that will not soon be effaced.

Before closing this hastily written sketch of our visit to this interesting institution, it will perhaps interest the reader to know that those of the Indian boys who are apprenticed to learn trades are paid 8⅓ cents for each half-day's work performed. It has been found that while this practice of paying them a nominal sum for their labor has a tendency to stimulate them to do better work, it also educates them as to the use and value of money, and creates an ambition in them to emulate their white friends, who they think always have money. The time of the apprentices is equally divided between the workshop and the school; and when we reflect on the rapid proficiency these rude children of the plains have attained, and the possibilities that lie before them in the near future, we are amazed at the stupidity, or, rather, criminal negligence, that has characterized the action of our Government ever since it had an existence. How not to do seems to be the ruling principle so far as the Indian is concerned.

In the system adopted at Carlisle, the religious training of the children is by no means neglected or overlooked. The "Great Spirit," of whom they had a vague and confused idea while in their prairie homes, they are taught to look upon as the Father of us all, a kind and loving Being who provides for all our wants and gives His children everything needful for them. They are taught that He is the creator of everything in the universe, and that by His wisdom and power He governs and controls all things. In the daily lessons in the school, in the Sunday-school, and at the chapel services the principles of christianity are inculcated, and practiced largely by a number of the scholars.

It is a commonly received opinion with many of our best people that the relations of our Government with the Indians is a problem which is very difficult to solve. To us it seems to be very simple. Take the 50,000 Indian children now growing up wild and ignorant, give them a plain English education, with an opportunity to learn a trade while they are acquiring their education; give them when they become of legal age their lands in severalty, with a prohibitive clause against selling it under a certain number of years; give them the right to vote and every right that citizenship carries with it, and in less than twenty years from the present the "Indian," as such, will have become extinct, obliterated by his own option and transformed into a useful and valuable member of society. We risk nothing in affirming that for less than one-quarter of the money now required to keep our army in the West and on the frontier, enough schools like that at Carlisle could be established and supported and the result would be accomplished. Instead of the annuities now paid by Government, and which involve millions of money, we would be receiving from them the fruits of a citizenship second to no other within our wide domain.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN CHARLTON.
ALBERT K. SMILEY.

Hon. CLINTON B. FISK, *Chairman.*

C.

REPORT OF E. WHITTLESEY.

WASHINGTON, *July* 3, 1885.

SIR: Pursuant to your letter of May 26 I left this city on the 13th of June, spent Sunday at Chicago, and proceeded direct by rail to Bismarck, and thence by stage 90 miles to Fort Berthold, where I arrived June 18, at noon, and found pleasant quarters with Rev. C. L. Hall, missionary of the American Missionary Association. Fort Berthold reservation on both sides of the Missouri River contains nearly 3,000,000 of acres, much of it rich and fertile, with good water, and along the river abundance of timber and lignite coal. On this broad area are about 1,200 Indians, Arickarees, Gros Ventres, and Mandans, speaking three distinct languages, but all living in one large village, their houses being of all shapes and sizes and built of logs and turf, with dirt roofs and floors. They still keep up their old customs of dress and living, their medicine dances and other superstitious rites, and have made but little progress toward civilization. They have, however, for many years cultivated some land, raising corn, potatoes, and beans, the women doing most of the work. And within the last two or three years they have gained some new ideas of thrift, and some of the men have shown a disposition to work. This year they have about 400 acres in wheat and oats, the land having been fenced and plowed and sowed by Indian labor. The crop, if no accident occurs, promises a large yield. I saw no better looking wheat in all my journey through Dakota. The entire area now under cultivation with growing crops is estimated by the farmer to be about 1,000 acres. This will give an abundance of wheat and corn and vegetables for the coming year, and as they have a good mill, no more flour need be issued at this agency.

In addition to the land now cultivated, the Indians are breaking new land. For the first time this year some are beginning to move out from the village and to take up separate tracts of land. About fifty (50), under direction of the farmers, have made selections, and have begun breaking land and building houses. In company with the clerk, Mr. Boucher, and the farmer, Mr. Cook, I drove about 20 miles among these allotments and saw the Indians at work. To a few of the most deserving Agent Gifford has issued oxen. Others have harnessed up their ponies, and the work is well done, just as well as that done by white settlers. All this labor with teams is done by men, while the hoe in the corn and potato fields is used by the women. They work morning and evening, spending the middle of the day in their cabins.

With such a vast tract of good land along both banks of the Missouri where water and wood and coal are plenty, there is no reason why these people should not soon be self-supporting. June 19th I drove 20 miles to Fort Stevenson to visit the industrial boarding school. The site of this old military post is very pleasant, it being near the river and having a large tract of excellent land above and below. The buildings are old, but with the repairs now made they are comfortable and afford ample room for 300 scholars. The facilities in buildings and land are nearly as good as those at Carlisle. The disadvantage is that it is far away from civilization and the stimulating example of industry. I spent the morning in the school taught by Misses Mary and Lizzie Sleight, from Hudson, N. Y. The number of scholars on the roll is 78. One-half attend school one day, the other half the next, those out being employed in various kinds of work. I think the half-day plan of other similar schools much better. None of these children have been in school more than eighteen months, and but few more than a year. Of course they are all in primary studies. Some are beginning to read simple sentences, and the most advanced work out examples in simple multiplication and division. The school was very quiet and orderly, and the rooms were clean. The teaching seemed to be faithfully done. But I think it would be an improvement in this and other primary schools to make more use of object lessons and less of books.

The officers of the school are a superintendent, Mr. Wells, the two teachers above named, a matron, Miss Buckbee, a seamstress, Miss Sherwood, a laundress, Mrs. Rogers, a cook, and an industrial teacher, Mr. Hincon, who has 45 or 50 acres of land cultivated by the larger boys. With the addition of one teacher and a little expense for furniture 150 scholars could be well cared for.

But the school will not be successful without harmony between the agent and the superintendent, which unhappily does not now prevail. Two parties have been formed, one led by the agent, the other by the superintendent, and some of the present employés of the school side with the agent. Beginning with little matters of difference the ill-feeling between these factions has grown to such an extent that there seems to be no hope of reconciliation. I listened to the statements made at great length by both parties, and heard many severe charges and bitter criminations and recriminations which it would be unprofitable to repeat and unwise to make public. I also conversed with sev-

eral disinterested persons, and after careful consideration I came to the conclusion that to secure the best interests of the school some changes should be made. If it is to remain under the general charge of the agent, who is responsible for all the property and for all the supplies issued, then he must have a superintendent in whom he can have entire confidence. Such confidence does not now exist. Hence, if the present plan is to continue, either the superintendent or agent, or both, must be discharged and all who have taken part in the controversy.

But in my opinion, a better plan—and in this Agent Gifford and Superintendent Wells both agree with me—would be to make the school independent of the agency; to make the superintendent a bonded officer and to hold him accountable for the school property and the entire management of its affairs, as at Genoa, Lawrence, and elsewhere. And if some man who has had experience in one of the older schools of this kind can be found to fill the position, at least until the school is well organized, I think the result would be satisfactory. I have therefore recommended that the Secretary of War be requested to detail for this work Lieut. George Le Roy Brown, now on duty at Fort Abram Lincoln, or Capt. Henry Romeyn, now at Fort Keogh. Both have been connected with the school at Hampton, and have done good service there.

June 20, a herd of cattle, recently contracted for with Joseph Roach, arrived at the agency, and I assisted in inspecting and weighing them. Ten yoke of oxen weighed in the aggregate 22,755 pounds, or an average of 2,275½ pounds per yoke. They were all young and well broken. We hitched each yoke to a loaded wagon to try them. We also inspected forty-nine cows and heifers and two bulls, and accepted all but two cows that were rejected on account of age. The rest were of good stock, though some were thin in flesh. This duty done, I had an interview with Dr. Meave, who has been the agency physician seven years. His testimony and his monthly reports, which I examined, show that the health of the people is generally good, the only prevailing disease being due to their bad morals.

June 21 (Sunday) I attended two services at the mission, under charge of Rev. C. L. Hall. Forty were present at the morning and sixty-five at the afternoon service. Mr. Hall preached in Arickaree, Gros Ventre, and English. Christianity has not made great progress here. A few have been reached and a small church organized; but the people cling to their heathen superstitions. They know nothing of the Sabbath. I saw as many at work in the fields as on any other day. They need not only the teaching of the missionary but the example of all the Government employés to lead them into better ways.

June 22, I visited the day-school under the charge of Mr. Hall, and taught by Miss Bechan. The attendance is very irregular, averaging about 25. Mr. Hall has six bright girls in his family, and is now enlarging his house to accommodate a larger number. For the support of these boarding scholars he receives from the Government some assistance. He has an excellent matron and good teachers, and with the increased help which is promised by Commissioner Atkins for the coming year the outlook for his school is hopeful.

The same day a large number of chiefs and headmen assembled at the office of the agent and wished to have a talk. I listened two hours to their orations. They told their story and their wants. They wanted more land, more meat, more oxen, plows, harrows, reapers, mowers, &c. They made no complaints of their agent, but of the trader all complained that his prices were too high. I replied in substance that they had too much land, nearly 3,000,000 of acres for 1,200 people, or about 4 square miles for every man, woman, and child. They should all select farms and cultivate them, and then ask the Government to buy the surplus lands and use the avails to improve their homes and educate their children. As to more meat and other supplies, the Great Father is very generous now. I could not promise that such supplies would be continued long. After giving them a start they would be left to go alone. What they most wanted was steady work; that on this rich land would make them prosperous. As to the trader, I made inquiry, and found their complaints just. The prices of common goods—calico, rice, soap, sugar, &c.—are about double the ordinary market prices. The business here is almost a monopoly, there being no other trading-post within 30 miles.

June 23, I left Fort Berthold, went down the Missouri, and reached Bismarck at 10 a. m., June 24, and proceeded to Jamestown. On the 25th I arrived at Minnewaukan, and on the 26th reached Devil's Lake Agency at noon. With Agent Cramsie and his wife, who is the interpreter, I drove at once 7 miles to the boarding school of "Our Lady of the Seven Dolors," under charge of Father Jerome and seven sisters, grey nuns. They have 70 scholars, nearly all quite young. The older boys are taught by Mr. Brown. They read well in the third and fourth readers, and in arithmetic the most advanced are in fractions. Mr. Brown seems to maintain good discipline, and he is very ingenious in teaching useful arts out of school. The younger boys and all the girls are taught by Sister Page, a bright young lady and a good teacher. She trains

all her scholars in music. One Indian boy plays the organ quite well. The accommodations for this school are inadequate, the school-rooms being small and poorly furnished and the dormitories crowded. Some of the boys are obliged to sleep in the stable-loft on the floor. But a new school building, 100 by 35 feet and two stories high, will be finished by September 1. This will furnish room for the present school, but not for all the children on the reservation. It should be enlarged as soon as possible. I examined this building, and am sorry to report that the contractor is not doing his work thoroughly. Some of the lumber for flooring and weatherboarding is of poor quality, and the window-casings are not fitted to keep out the cold of this Arctic climate.

The same evening and the next day, June 27, I made a pretty thorough survey of the reservation, riding 40 or 50 miles among the Indian farms. These Indians are Wahpeton Sioux, kindred to the Sisseton and the Santee Sioux, and have made about the same progress. They have a fine reservation, secured by treaty, on the south shore of Devil's Lake, or Minnewaukan, containing about 366 square miles, of which 36 square miles are set apart as a military reservation, on which is Fort Totten. Near the lake are some rocky hills and sufficient oak timber. The larger part, about two-thirds, is rich prairie suitable for cultivation. The Indians are scattered widely over the reservation, living on or near their farms, about 250 of which are under cultivation, containing from 10 to 50 acres each, mostly in wheat. The crops look well, and the farmers are so encouraged that they are breaking new land to enlarge their fields. They own mowers and reapers, having purchased seven new self-binders this year. They also own good oxen and horses, and are self-supporting. No rations are issued except to the sick and to aged paupers. I saw no Indians loafing about the agency office; none wearing the blanket; only one, an old woman, with a painted face. The dances have been stopped and polygamy nearly abolished. Their lands are now being surveyed; they will soon be allotted to those who cultivate them, and patented when the Coke bill shall pass. Then, with a little help in lumber and skilled labor, they can build better houses and live as well as their neighbors. They will need for a few years an intelligent farmer to direct and help in the use and care of their machinery. They can plow and sow as well as anybody; but they cannot yet put together and handle with skill the mowers and self-binders.

Agent Cramsie appears to be doing good service. He is firm and decided in government and earnest in urging all to industry. He has greatly improved the agency buildings, having constructed new stables, carpenter and blacksmith shops, and a bakery, besides repairing the agent's dwelling and building a new house for employés.

The immediate wants of these Indians are the continued service of the farmer, who is a capable man, a grant of lumber, say $1,000 worth, to roof and floor their log houses, a few hundred dollars to employ carpenters to do the work, some stock cattle, and an addition to the school-house.

June 28th I attended the Mission Church service, conducted by Father Jerome, who preached a plain, sensible sermon—first in Dakota, then in English. He was assisted in the service by a choir of Indian boys and girls, who rendered excellent music.

Leaving late at night, I returned direct to Washington, arriving July 1.

Very respectfully,

E. WHITTLESEY, *Secretary.*

Hon. CLINTON B. FISK, *Chairman.*

D.

REPORTS OF RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

The expenditures by the several religious societies during the last year for Indian education and missions, so far as reported, are as follows:

Baptist Home Mission Board	$29,972 16
Baptist Southern Mission Board	14,065 12
Congregational American Missionary Association	31,825 62
Episcopal Mission Board	49,773 81
Friends Missionary Societies	12,128 00
Menonite Church Mission	6,225 49
Methodist Missionary Society	6,000 00
Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board	32,224 55
Presbyterian Home Mission Board	62,000 00
Presbyterian Southern Mission Board	6,740 00

AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY.

THE INDIANS.

In the Indian Territory the prospects are bright. General Missionary Rogers states that the development of the missionary spirit in the churches, for the evangelization of the wild tribes, has been exceedingly gratifying. At the general convention of the Baptists, last June, a missionary was appointed to labor among the Western tribes. The Cherokees have raised their proportion, and it is understood that the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Delawares will not be lacking in theirs. This is a new era in our work, when the Indians themselves have reached the point where they engage in missionary undertakings for their pagan kin. U-yu-sa-da and John Walkingstick, two excellent preachers, have died within the year. Their places should be supplied, if not with native, then with white ministers. The latter course, however, seems impossible in the society's present circumstances. Three ministerial students from the "Indian University" labored under our appointment last summer, and were instrumental in the conversion of a goodly number to Christ.

At the Sac and Fox Agency our native missionary has the commendation of those connected with the agency, and is evidently making an impression on many Indians who, at first, were utterly averse to the gospel and its messenger.

In Nevada progress is slow. The Indians, however, have kept their promise to adopt the civilized mode of burial, if the remains of the beloved Agent Spencer were buried there.

Alaska is yet untouched by us. The opportune moment for entering Alaska has come. Congress, for the first time, has appropriated $25,000 for educational purposes in that Territory, and the honorable Commissioner of Education, himself a Christian gentleman, is prepared to appropriate a moderate amount for the support of a teacher whom the society may appoint to Alaska, and who, in connection with his teaching, may engage in missionary service. The location of the mission has not been definitely determined, but the probability is that it will be at the Kodiak Islands, about 500 miles northwesterly of Sitka, and 1,500 miles from San Francisco, the point of departure for Kodiak.

As yet the man for this work has not been found. He must be a man of strong faith in God, and able to endure deprivations equal to those of any mission field on the globe.

The new building for the Indian University, near Muskogee, Indian Territory, is also completed and is to be dedicated early in June. It is of stone and brick, 44 feet wide, 109 long, and three stories high, above a fine basement that will be used for culinary and other purposes. Its cost is about $24,000. It will be known as "Rockefeller Hall," in honor of J. D. Rockefeller, esq., who has given $9,000 toward its erection. Probably never again will so many principal structures for these institutions be erected in one year.

The report of the committee upon "missionary work among the Indians" was presented by Rev. Dr. J. W. Carter, West Virginia.

MISSIONS AMONG INDIANS.

As the result of recent and careful estimates, it is stated that the Indians in the United States number about 320,000, including 15,000 in Alaska. The many tribes into which they are divided speak different dialects, and sometimes engage in bloody hostilities. That the Indians are surely wasting away before the steady march of civilization and are doomed to total extinction has been the popular idea for many years. But this theory is now rudely shaken, if not utterly overthrown. Facts show that while some tribes have decayed others have increased. Some of the best informed students of the question insist that the Indians of our country are holding their own in number, and are destined to form a permanent element of our population.

We rejoice that as a people their prospects have greatly improved. The Indian policy of our Government has not reached perfection, but it is better than it was formerly, and other changes which time and effort will secure will probably bring it into harmony with the teachings and spirit of righteousness. There is an evident quickening of the American conscience upon the subject of our relations to these feeble tribes. The time has come when millions of our people acknowledge that Indians have rights which white men are bound to respect, and demand that public and private pledges to them shall be sacredly kept. In recent instances their title to lands guaranteed to them by solemn treaties has been honestly enforced. We have learned that it is cheaper and manlier to Christianize and civilize them than to wage eternal war against them for the benefit of

frontier traders and liquor sellers. But much yet remains to be done. Perhaps about one-third of the Indians in the United States have made decided advances in civilization. They build houses, cultivate the soil, support churches and schools, and have adopted the dress and many of the customs of their white neighbors. But there are still 200,000 or more of our Indian population who, if not in a state of utter savagery, have made but slight progress in the arts and industries of civilized society. They live and worship as did their fathers, and are heathens in a land of Bibles and churches. Surely it is our duty to preach the gospel to these disinherited heirs of this vast continent.

But we fear that our denomination is not doing all that is required of us in this direction. The facts, so far as your committee has been able to gather them, seem to compel the conclusion that the Indian members of Baptist churches do not exceed 5,000 in number. Neglected tribes need teachers and preachers, and promising fields ask in vain for help. Many open doors are not entered because the pressure upon our missionary treasury is so severe.

During the past year the Home Mission Society has done all that was possible with the resources at its command to meet these calls for gospel labor; and the Lord of the harvest has crowned the toils and sacrifices of his servants with his blessing. It gives us profound pleasure to report that the Baptists of the Indian Territory, representing different tribes, have organized for missionary work, and are sending the gospel of Christ to their pagan kindred. We also hope that the call which came years ago from the tribes of Alaska is about to be answered in the establishment of a mission in that far-off Territory. But the most favorable view that can be taken of the subject must remind us that greater efforts, more laborers, and larger contributions are specially needed. May God help us to enable the society to do more for the Indians.

The work of our Indian University at Tahlequah is growing in importance and interest. Thirteen of its pupils are students for the ministry, and some of them expect to seek the advantages of Eastern theological seminaries. This prosperous school is soon to be removed to Muskogee, where it will have better accommodations and larger opportunities. Its field of usefulness is wide, and its future is bright with promise. In the judgment of your committee the Government ought to be just and kindly in its treatment of the Indians, and American Christians ought to pray earnestly, give liberally, and labor faithfully for the salvation of a people who have been driven from the homes of their ancestors and compelled to endure centuries of wrong. The work of giving them the gospel is pressed upon us by justice, humanity, and patriotism, as well as by obligations to Christ and his kingdom.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST HOME MISSION BOARD.

The Indian Mission Department, transferred to the Domestic Board in 1855, is worthy of special narative did time permit. It has accomplished more for the reclamation from barbarism and the civilization of the Indian tribes than all the forces of the United States Government had effected in a century. The gospel has proved mightier than gunpowder in changing savages into reputable citizens.

In 1861 there were in connection with our board thirteen missionaries, white and native, and over three thousand communicants.

After the war the work among the Indians was resumed in their desolated territory, and has been very successfully prosecuted in the evangelization and education of the tribes, until the Indians are certainly at least as well fitted for intelligent voting citizenship as any portion of the African race among us.

Missionary service has under God's blessing wrought these marvelous changes in our own days and under our own eyes.

Our mission work among the Indians has been highly prospered during the year. There have been many baptisms and restorations to the churches. The Levering school has been overflowing all the year. This is due to the admirable management of the superintendent, Maj. I. G. Vore. No words of commendation would be too strong in connection with the services of this officer. His sound judgment, his thorough knowledge of business, his long acquaintance with the Indians, their unbounded confidence in him and his deep interest in their welfare, render him of all men the most fitting for such a position.

During the year the efforts of the Board to arouse a spirit of missions among the people have began to bear fruit. The two associations, that of the Creeks and that of the Choctaw and Chickasaw churches, have united to support a missionary among the wild tribes, while the Creeks have appointed Brother James Colbert as a missionary in their own bounds. In the judgment of the Board the time has come to change its plan of work among these people. While we encourage schools, especially those that teach the arts of

civilized life, and thus prepare the young to become teachers of others in these things, we must throw more of the responsibility of the support of the native ministry upon the churches. The white missionaries must turn their thoughts more and more to the instruction of the native preachers and aid them in developing the piety and activity of the churches.

J. D. Stewart, Georgia, presented the following, which, after remarks by him and J. L. Burrows, Virginia, was adopted:

"For many years mission work among the American Indians has been prosecuted with marked success. Hundreds of happy conversions, and the foundation of churches and associations, stamp this work with the seal of Divine approbation. Many native preachers have been called and sent forth to declare the glad tidings of salvation. In view of the work that has been accomplished and considering the present needs of this field of Christian labor—

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this convention that the Home Mission Board, so soon as the means at their command will justify the same, appoint one whose duty it shall be to hold religious institutes, in which Indian preachers and deacons are to receive instruction in the word of God as understood and taught by our denomination.

"*Resolved*, That in giving such instruction the churches be urged to use every possible effort by an enlarged benevolence to become self-sustaining; that they strive to raise sufficient means to support their own pastors and to raise mission funds to send the word of God to the wild tribes of their own people."

CONGREGATIONAL AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

WORK AMONG THE INDIANS.

Churches	5
Members	301
Ministers	7
Schools	15
Teachers	53
Pupils	706
Sunday-school scholars	776

Our Indian work is chiefly in Nebraska and Dakota, among the great Sioux nation, that numbers about 60,000, and the tribes that mingle with, or are located around them. We have three main stations, Santee, Oahe, and Fort Berthold, all situated on the Missouri River, and at points strategic for pushing missions out among the people.

Santee.—Here is planted the Santee Normal School, under the care of Rev. A. L. Riggs. This institution, pioneer of its kind, began work for the higher training of Indian pupils fifteen years ago. Its history and experience show the great advancement that has been made by the Indian mind. At first the pupils came as to a sort of picnic, and expected to slip out when the fun stopped. But now the discipline, attendance, and class work are of a high order and will compare favorably with schools of similar grade elsewhere. One thing quite noteworthy about Santee is that while it is often impossible to fill the desired quota of girls for other schools, applications at Santee from girls and young women far exceed the ability to receive them. This school, with its 177 pupils busily engaged in their studies under the instruction of an able corps of teachers, in possession of buildings that are up to the times in all their equipments, reaching by its influence every Indian village of the great empire of the Missouri River basin, is an institution from which, with God's blessing upon its work, we have a right to expect great things in the future.

Pilgrim Church, under the joint pastorate of Rev. Artemas Ehnamani and Rev. A. L. Riggs, honors the faith and polity of the Pilgrim Fathers in its co-operation with the school, nurturing and extending the cause of Christian education. Its roll numbers 164 names, and its Sabbath-school reports an attendance of 183.

Great and urgent fields inviting missionary occupancy lie all around Santee. The Rosebud camp, of between six and seven thousand Indians, under the pressure of necessity, is beginning to break up. Swift Bear's colony, numbering sixteen families, an offshoot from Rosebud Agency, has located along the Niobrara. Others are coming down this fall as soon as their little crops are harvested. All the land on the north side of the Niobrara, 20 miles east of the mouth of the Keyapaha, and much of the land on the Ponca Creek, close by, is now taken. Here has just been built a school-house given by Deacon Burrill, of Oberlin, Ohio, a little building of two rooms, one for the teacher's

residence and the other for the school-room and chapel. A son of Pastor Ehnamani, of the Santee church, is to take charge of this station.

Among the Poncas, since last December, we have had a missionary, Rev. J. E. Smith, who, while maintaining Sabbath services with good attendance, has during the week taught a Government school. At the Upper Ponca settlement, during the months of February and March, a mission day-school was kept by Albert Frazier, a native teacher.

Oahe.—This mission, with its out-stations, is in charge of Rev. T. L. Riggs. By reason of the illness of Miss Collins and the absence of Mr. Riggs, who, with Stephen Yellow Hawk and Rev. Charles W. Shelton, made a campaign at the East in behalf of Indian missions, this mission in the early part of the winter suffered somewhat. The native helpers are Titus Jugg, a young man with family, of earnest missionary spirit, and Elizabeth Winjan, a woman advanced in years, a most faithful teacher in school, as well as by her daily life, both stationed on the Cheyenne; William Lee, David Lee, Samuel Smiley, and Stephen Yellow Hawk, thirteen years ago low savages and superstitious heathen, but to-day, by the grace of God, clean, industrious, kind-hearted Christian men. Rev. Isaac Renville, grandson of Joseph Renville, who so effectively assisted the early missionaries in the translation of John and other Scriptures, supported by the Native Missionary Society, occupies a building of the A. M. A. on the Cheyenne, where he has kept a small school and maintained Sabbath services. Farther up the river, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" supports two native missionaries. These brethren have heartily co-operated with Mr. Riggs and the other A. M. A. workers. On the Grand River, Standing Rock Agency, we have Edwin Phelps, a young man of remarkable force, a good teacher, a good musician, and a good missionary. The Government agent speaks very highly of him and of his work. All these native helpers, with one exception, are full-blood Dakota Indians.

The Indians of the Rosebud Agency on the White River have long been calling for missionaries to be sent among them. The Park Street church, Boston, has given $400 to open a mission in that needy region, and Mr. Riggs expects to have a well-established out-station on the White River before the beginning of the coming winter.

During the year a movement has been made to establish an industrial school at Oahe. The Indian Bureau gave twenty scholarships. Alonzo Trask, esq., executor in the Masquand estate, gave $1,500 toward a building, on condition that an additional $1,500 be raised. This additional amount Mr. Riggs secured. The beginning of the school was made in January. Twelve scholars were all that could be accommodated. They were promptly secured. The school has been continued by the exercise of strictest economy and the willing self-sacrifices of all concerned. The experiment has proved a success, and a good beginning has been made for another year. The new building is now about, if not quite, ready, and fitted to receive forty scholars.

The church at Oahe bears the significant name of Shiloh. A place of rest it has proved to many a weary soul—yet of rest only as it has prepared for activity. During the year God has been pleased to manifest His grace in saving power. Seventeen new members have been received on profession of their faith and three by letter. The total membership is 54. The greater part of these are young men and women, not more than half being over thirty years of age, and not more than five being past forty-five years. This church enjoys the ministrations of Stephen Yellow Hawk and David Lee.

Fort Berthold.—This point, with the territory adjacent, is held by Rev. C. L. Hall. The day-school has had 129 pupils during the year. Six of the Indian girls have been taken into the teachers' home with marked benefit to the mission work. Increased interest has been manifested in the church services, the average attendance being 75. At Fort Stevenson a Government school (75 pupils) has been kept by Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Wells. Religious meetings have been held fortnightly on Thursday evening and Sabbath-school each Sunday. The Crow agency, after waiting two years, is still begging for us to send a missionary.

The Indians around Fort Berthold are making gratifying progress in farming. They have added 200 acres of grain to last year's crops. A large part of the people have broken away from their old villages and settled on quarter-sections of land 30 miles up and down the Missouri, building houses and breaking land for next year's crops.

Skokomish Agency.—Striking westward about 1,000 miles, we come to Skokomish Agency, Washington Territory, where Rev. Myron Eells stands almost alone to represent the interest our demonination takes in the salvation of the Indians of that region. At Skokomish he has a church of 46 members; at Dunginess a church of 28 members, where he spends two Sabbaths and the intervening week each month; and at Squakson, a small reservation formerly in charge of the Presbyterians, who have now withdrawn, he conducts public worship once a month. In these three places he has under his pastoral care 102 families; average attendance at public worship, 150; at Sabbath-school, 84; at prayer-meeting, 62. Infant baptisms, 19; adult baptisms and reception to church membership, 11. Many of the Christian Indians are efficient helpers in the prayer-

meeting and the Sunday-school, assisting Mr. Eells when he is present and carrying on the work when he is absent. The progress made by the Indians of Washington Territory during the past fifteen years is owing largely to the peace policy inaugurated by General Grant. Since 1880 the Indians of the Skokomish Reservation have been self-supporting. They live chiefly by farming, logging, and working for the whites.

At Santa Fé, N. Mex., we have maintained during part of the year four teachers, who have had under instruction Pueblo Indian children, for whom Government scholarships had been secured.

We have thus presented some of the prominent features of our missions among the Indians. The work is full of encouragement everywhere. The cry for enlargement comes from every station. There are tens of thousands of heathen adults and children who can be reached waiting and anxious for us to come to them—in fact, sending us invitations to come and teach them the white man's way. The workers at the front importune us to send them re-enforcements—young men and women of rugged health, unconquerable faith, and earnest consecration, who are willing to rough it and endure hardness for Christ's sake. As one of them puts it, "Not palace-car missionaries, who wait for everything to be done before they come, but missionaries who are able to build their own log cabin, follow the Indian into his haunts, and teach him in his own wigwam." The Government is ready to co-operate with us farther than we can respond. The voices of the leaders of thought are growing more numerous and more loud in affirming that the day of injustice and neglect toward the Indian should cease and the work for his salvation should be begun in earnest. The day of adequate effort to reach the Indians with the gospel has been too long delayed.

SANTEE AGENCY, NEBRASKA.

Rev. A. L. Riggs writes: We have much ground for encouragement. In spite of overwhelming disadvantages—the fewness of laborers and a limited treasury—the work has been growing. The Word is having entrance and is giving light. The native workers are doing better work all the while. The Indians are coming to a clearer appreciation of what a Christian mission means, and urgent calls are coming from communities here and there for missionary teachers. It is a joy to us when they come to realize their need and want the gospel. But it is a stifling pain when we feel that they must continue to want it without receiving it.

In noting the growth of the work, I would say a word about the work begun this year among the Poncas by the Rev. John E. Smith. He has proved a clear-headed faithful worker, one whose interest grows with the work. He has gained the confidence of his people, and for the short time (since December last) that he has engaged in it the success of his labors is very gratifying.

Educational work.—The spirit of inquiry is awakened among the people. To some extent there is a thirst for knowledge among the new generation. There is everywhere a groping for light and for knowledge concerning a new way. Santee Normal Training School is not merely worthy of mention on its own account, but in a peculiar way it is an index to the whole field. The scholars are not gathered in here by Government, nor are they attracted by the novelty of strange sights and the thought of travel in the States, but come here because they want to come. After making sacrifices to come, and notwithstanding the large numbers of pupils that have been drawn from this field to fill Government institutions, yet the number of applicants is steadily increasing, and exceeds what we can accommodate.

This institution began its definite work for the higher training of Indian pupils fifteen years ago. It was the pioneer among Indian schools of higher grade. The prominence given in this school from the first to industrial work has done much toward creating the healthy tone and common-sense view spoken of. And our success in the various departments of shopwork, farm, and domestic employments is very gratifying.

And yet, the question of Indian education is not answered by the building of such large schools, except as they are means to other ends. The more difficult work of education lies in the hamlet, in the camp, and here and there and everywhere in the family. We take no satisfaction in our work at Santee, except as it is related to this work of bringing education and the gospel into personal contact with the homes of the people. The real work of regenerating this people is done in the out-stations, and the work of our central school is of value only as it makes that broader, deeper work possible. And herein lies one reason for the retention of the vernacular in our schools. The Indian scholar, separate from his people, is not worth the work spent upon him, and that which makes him worth anything is his possible force as a missionary, speaking to his own people in their own tongue.

Your committee believe the time has come when the temporizing make-shifts by which we have created and perpetuated the Indian problem, should be displaced by efforts which have some relation to the end we seek; efforts in which there shall be a recognition of the manhood of those with whom we deal, and which shall allow scope for the motives by which moral and intelligent creatures are moved along the path of progress. Immediate steps, we believe, should be taken to do away with the tribal relations for which we are responsible, to abolish the segregating and isolating regulations, metes and boundaries by which we have shut out from him the appliances and agencies of civilized life, and to put him into such conditions as are essential to a Christian social organization.

We rejoice to note that religious and philanthropic efforts in behalf of the Indian are multiplying and broadening, which are educating the people to a juster sense of their duties, and directing our labors more intelligently to the end of elevating and saving him.

The increase in the appropriations of the National Government for educational purposes from about $600,000 to $1,100,000, for the current year, indicates that our legislators have become convinced both of the desirability and possibility of educating the Indian, and at least realize that a solution of the problem lies in this direction.

It appears from the report of the Executive Committee that this society has incurred a debt for this year's work about equal to the increase of the expenditures of this year over that of last for Indian education. This increase was more than 67 per cent. Your committee are unanimous in the opinion that this increased expenditure should have been made, and that a failure to give the money must not be interpreted to be a condemnation of the increased activity in this direction.

We believe the time has come when the Church of Christ should make its efforts to give these people the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ correspondent with its duty. We, therefore, heartily approve and commend the action of the executive committee in the appointment of a special secretary to bring this work to the attention of our churches, and respectfully suggest whether the duplication of this agency would not meet with a corresponding response. We believe that nothing adequate can be done—whatever may be done in giving citizenship, land in severalty, the ballot, industrial and mental training—until the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ has been given to all these people; that nothing less than this can satisfy the demand of our Divine Master; and your committee believe that we utter the voice of the awakened conscience of our Congregational churches when we urge this society to go forward with enlarged plans for Indian mission work.

PRESBYTERIAN HOME MISSION BOARD.

Indian work and workers.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

Cherokees.—Beginning with the Cherokees, who live in the northern part of the Territory, we see first in our travel southward the work at Vinita. Rev. W. P. Haworth has labored here for several years, and is now reaping a rich harvest. Twenty-eight have just been added to his church. He also preaches at Pheasant Hill, Tulsa, and Claremore. At Tulsa a school has been opened with about fifty scholars. They are taught by Mrs. Stonecipher and Miss Ida Stephens.

Rev. A. N. Chamberlain, the only white man who can preach in the Cherokee language, lives near Vinita, and has as his field all of the full-blooded Cherokees.

Fort Gibson is supplied by Rev. C. H. Miller, who preaches also at Bayou Manard and two other churches in the neighborhood.

This field has been richly blessed by the presence of the Holy Spirit, and the mission greatly revived.

Tahlequah is the capital of the nation, and a very hopeful mission field. Rev. W. L. Miller preaches there and at Park Hill, seven miles away. Here we have two very flourishing churches and schools. Miss A. L. Miller and Miss Whittaker teach at the former, and Miss Bodine at the latter. Both schools will be enlarged.

Into the Salison Valley we have sent the Rev. N. Neerken, who is laboring at Old Dwight and Fairfield missions.

A new school is about to be opened at Childer's Station.

Creeks.—At Muscogee, among the Creeks, Rev. T. A. Sanson has labored during the past year. Miss Alice Robertson has just been put in charge of the boarding-school; she will have Miss McCormick to assist her.

The school begun last year at Ockmulgee is to be this year taught by Mr. Sullivan.

Large and pleasant buildings have been erected at Nuyarka, substantially furnished, and the first half-year's work accomplished. This work, for which Miss Robertson has been pleading for more than two years has been successfully begun, and will be continued for the benefit of the most needy and ignorant of the Creek people. About sixty boys and girls are to be educated in school and home duties, and clothed and fed after the civilized custom. Mrs. A. R. Moore, Miss Grace Robertson, Mrs. Perryman and other helpers are in charge of this work.

Rev. Thomas Perryman is preaching at the school and in the neighborhood. He is a native Creek, and deserves much credit for the noble manner in which he has pleaded for his people.

Choctaws.—Still farther south, along the line of the railroad, with headquarters at Savannah, Rev. H. A. Tucker labors among the Choctaws, preaching also at Atoka and McAllister.

In the southeastern corner of the Territory, the boarding-school for the Choctaws, is located now at Wheelock. This is one of the most thorough schools we have. Mr. Robe, the efficient superintendent, with his wife and daughters and the Misses Young and Hunter as helpers, are quiet workers, but are doing great things for this people. Rev. John Edwards has labored, and is still laboring, among these people, with blessed results. Rev. Frank H. Wright, a recent graduate of Union Theological Seminary, a native Choctaw, son of ex-chief Wright, has lately been sent as a missionary to his people. His headquarters will be at Atoka, near which place he will have several preaching stations.

NEW MEXICO.

Pueblos.—In New Mexico, among the Pueblos, we have enlarged our work during the past year. Mr. and Mrs. T. M. Marshall have been located at the pueblo of San Juan; Dr. Craig at Santa Clara, and Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Hawley at Isleta. Laguna, where Rev. John Menaul has long labored, shows the marks of his faithfulness in a civilization much in advance of the other pueblos. Dr. and Mrs. Leech, who are now in charge at Jemez, report progress. Zuni is a most interesting mission, but, like all of the above, is slow and somewhat discouraging, but we are hopeful that the labors of Mr. and Mrs. James H. Willson and Miss Abbie Willson will in the end prove successful.

The bitter opposition from the Jesuit priests has hindered the work among these Pueblos, whom they have kept in the lowest ignorance and heathenism for the last two or three hundred years.

Albuquerque is the central point into which are gathered Indian children from the various Pueblos, and also from some of the neighboring tribes. It is an industrial boarding-school, and is very popular among the Indians; and, if sufficiently large buildings could be put up, almost any number of pupils could be secured. The number will soon reach two hundred from the present outlook. Prof. R. W. D. Bryan is the superintendent; Mrs. Bryan and Miss Wilkins are the matrons; Mrs. Tibbals, the Misses Wood, Patten, and Butler are the teachers; Mr. McKenzie is the instructor in carpentering, Mr. Loveland in painting, Mr. Thompson in gardening, &c.; Mrs. Loveland and Mrs. Sadler in sewing; Mr. and Mrs. Henderson in cooking and care of the tables, &c. Altogether they are a noble band of workers. The work done at Albuquerque is supplementary to that done in the pueblos, and makes the work, as a whole, very encouraging.

ARIZONA.

Papagoes and Pimas.—The mission among the Papagoes, in Arizona, under the care of Dr. F. J. Hart, has progressed as rapidly as possible. The doctor has intrenched himself in the hearts of the people, and he is preparing them for the larger work which we expect to get under way ere long. Among the Pimas, the neighbors and friends of the Papagoes, the Rev. C. H. Cook is working against the combined forces of idolatry, ignorance, Jesuitism, and Mormonism.

CALIFORNIA.

Mission Indians.—Though we have endeavored to know the best way to work among the mission Indians of California, we have done but little thus far, but now report a good work under way. Mrs. M. E. Roberts had been commissioned for this undertaking, and has opened a school at Anaheim.

WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

Puyallups, Chehalis, Nisqually, Squaxon, Nez Percé, and Umatillas.—Our next mission is far to the north in Washington Territory, among the Puyallups, Chehalis, Nisqually, and Squaxons, where Rev. A. M. Mann and Mr. Stanup are at work. Rev. Archie Lawyer, a native Nez Percé, is preaching to the people of his own tribe and also to the Spokanes and Umatillas in Idaho, Oregon, and Washington Territory.

ALASKA.

Tongas, Sitkans, Hydahs, Hoonyahs, and Chilcats.—The next mission lies still farther north, acrosss a foreign country in the wonderful Alaska land. The nearest point is at Tongas, where Louis Paul and his wife, native Alaskans, have lately opened a new mission. At Fort Wrangel, the next point in the northward course, the Rev. S. Hall Young is laboring, and is at present our only missionary at this place. Mrs. A. R. McFarland and her girls have been moved to Sitka, where another building has been erected, and all the girls put under her care, assisted by Misses Rankin and Dauphin. Mr. and Mrs. Austin are still in charge of the boys' school. Miss Austin, having married, has left the service. Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., has been sent there, and is the missionary and stated supply to the church lately organized.

In view of the enlargement of this mission, the Board has appointed Prof. A. J. Davis the superintendent, and has given it the title of the Sitka Indian Industrial and Training School.

The Hydahs are one of the best tribes in Alaska. Rev. J. L. Gould and his wife and Miss Clara Gould are doing what can be done to make them still better. A saw-mill has been put up under the direction of Mr. W. D. McLeod, and is now at work, and will be able to supply lumber for this and the other stations.

Among the Hoonyahs we have been so unfortunate as to be compelled to change teachers so often that not nearly so much has been accomplished as might have been. But now that Mr. and Mrs. J. W. McFarland have undertaken this mission there is hope that more progress will be made.

The most northern of our missions is among the Chilcats, where Rev. E. S. Willard and his wife and Miss Bessie Matthews are laboring with head, hearts, and hands to lift this people out of their ignorance and degradation. May the Lord help them.

DAKOTA.

Sioux.—In Dakota we have the one mission station among the Sioux at the Sisseton agency. Mr. W. K. Morris and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Smith, the Misses Hyslop, Livingston, Pearson, and Mead are managing both the boys' and the girls' schools, while Mrs. Renville has the neighboring school a few miles distant. Five native Sioux ordained ministers are preaching to the five native churches. Their names are Joseph Irondoor, Louis Mazawakinyanna, David Greycloud, John B. Renville, and Charles R. Crawford.

It seems almost unnecessary to add that in every school much is still needed to make the work efficient, and that the want of money is the cause of these needs.

Summary.

Ministers	19
Ministers, native (ordained)	8
	27
Teachers in Indian Territory	14
Teachers in New Mexico, Arizona, and California	27
Teachers in Alaska	13
Teachers in Dakota	9
	63
Number of tribes in which we have missions	28
Number of organized churches	26
Number of schools	24

PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

MISSIONS AMONG THE INDIANS.

Seneca Mission.—Mr. Trippe, after alluding to the discouraging aspect of affairs last year, recounts with joy the work of God's Spirit during the latter part of the year. It began apparently with a funeral discourse which touched the heart of an Indian woman with great power. The evidence which she afterward gave that she had passed from darkness to light was this: "I mind my house and I pray." The influence of her conversion sensibly affected others. The return of a native helper who had been absent for some time encouraged the missionary to undertake special work in a district known as the Pine Woods, where a number of persons were hopefully converted, among them an out and out Pagan, who was brought to acknowledge Christ, and to show manifest fruits of righteousness. The whole community seemed to be raised up to a higher moral elevation. Christian marriages took the place of heathen concubinage. At the mission church the Week of Prayer was observed, and the Spirit of God was there manifested through that week and the next. Confessions were made; conviction of sin was manifested; jealousy, strife, and unfriendly feelings disappeared under the genial influence of the Spirit. The work seemed to take hold of the young, and there is now an "association" of young Christians. Weekly meetings are held with interest and profit. "While it is difficult to say how many have passed from death to life, over a hundred," says the report, "have expressed a desire for a better life." Some of these have united with the Baptist church, others with the churches of the mission. A marked improvement in the whole temper and spirit of the church and of the mission work is noted with gratitude. The death of the Rev. B. A. Blinkey, a native minister on the Alleghany Reserve, deprives his people of a faithful laborer, but for him it was no doubt a blessed departure from this life.

The report says: "The work during the year on the Alleghany and Cornplanter Reserves has been encouraging. Under the supervision of the Rev. W. A. Rankin, of Warren, Pa., the church building at Cornplanter will be pushed to a successful completion." The report expresses gratitude to the Christian people of Warren for the interest manifested in the Indians. Many converts have been won at Oldtown. The report speaks with satisfaction of some new helpers who have been employed, namely, Revs. Alfred Halftown and Joseph P. Turkey. A few years ago Halftown was a drunken Pagan; he and his wife lived in extreme misery. The acceptance of the Gospel wrought a wonderful change. His life and home were transformed, and he became a sober, industrious, prayerful Christian man. "Whenever he preaches," says the report, "the Spirit is with him, and the people say of him, 'God speaks through him.' His salary is but $30 a year. He preaches every Sabbath, though in order to meet some appointments, he is obliged in going and coming to travel nearly 50 miles. We need money to keep this man at work steadily, for no man among all these Indians has such an influence for good as he, and under the power of the Spirit he seems just the man to preach the Gospel to the Pagans on the other reserves."

Of the work yet to be done, the report says: "There is a large Pagan population within reach of our church. Four years ago, when we first entered upon this field, there were no young men capable by natural and spiritual gifts to act as preachers. Now the Lord has answered our prayer, and we have the best men among the Indians ready for this service. Three hundred dollars would send a young man into the rich harvest field."

The statistics of the Tuscarora Mission are the same as last year; also those of Tonawanda. In the Alleghany and Cornplanter churches six have been received. Three native preachers are employed. At Cattaraugus, thirteen have been received on profession of faith, making the total membership 130.

Statistics of the Seneca Mission.

Ordained missionaries	2
Ordained natives	1
Licentiates	1
Native helpers	6
Communicants	259
Number added	19

Lake Superior Chippewa Mission.—The work at Odanah has remained under the care of Rev. Francis Spees, assisted by a native pastor, Rev. Henry Blatchford. Mr. Spees has sent a partial report. A lady at the station was employed as a teacher in the local mission-school for a part of this year, but her connection with the school has been discontinued. At Lac Court d'Oreilles, Rev. Samuel G. Wright has continued his work,

and Miss Susie and Miss Cornelia Dougherty have conducted the school at Round Lake. Rev. Edward Green, licentiate preacher, has assisted. The correspondence of the year affords scanty material for a report. Miss Susie Dougherty, writing January 2, speaks of a first communion service at Round Lake, which was held on the previous Sabbath, Messrs. Wright and Spees taking part. Several white people as well as Indians were present. The people looked on with much interest, and the old chief said that he felt as though some invisible being was urging him to join the church. Both he and his wife profess to be thoughtful, and almost ready to accept the peace and joy of the believer.

Something has been done outside of school work by Miss Dougherty in visiting the sick and in administering simple remedies. Much of the missionaries' time among these poor people is occupied with cares which concern the proper supply of food and raiment for the people under their care.

Mr. Spees, in connection with his report, makes an earnest appeal for the thousands of Indians still found in Northern Wisconsin without the means of grace, particularly the La Flambeau Indians, who still speak their own native language, and are still almost wholly heathen.

Mr. Spees' report quotes the session's records of the mission church at Odanah, which mention also the action of a commission of the Winnebago Presbytery, October 9. The occasion appears to have been one of unusual interest. "After this interesting and profitable service," says the record, "four Indians were baptized on profession of their faith in Christ; one of them, a lad, was baptized at the request of his father, who was also one of the number received. The reception of these members was followed by the ordination of the Lord's Supper, which was received by whites and Indians alike with great apparent benefit." The report adds: "For the support of the Gospel among us, the Indian church-members and a few white people have given, during the last year, $115.93. Five adults and several children belonging to the congregation died during the year. Four of the adults died happy in the loving faith of Christ; the other, poor Thomas Clowell, was chilled to death in the mud and water on the road leading from Ashland to Odanah, while in a state of intoxication. He had left a saloon for his home, which, alas, he never reached. How long will the black record of this wholesale destruction darken the pages of American history? Let the Church answer this question. How long shall missionary effort be paralyzed by the vices and cruel traffic of wicked white people, who outdo even the heathen in sin, sowing broadcast the seeds of death and ruin? The parents of this young man are in deep affliction. He was the pride of his household, but his ardent nature could not withstand the tempter's power."

The total number baptized during the year, including children, was eight. Weekly prayer-meetings have been sustained during the year. The mission day-school has been maintained for nine months of the year.

The collections of the Indian church at Odanah were as follows:

Foreign missions, $8.60; home missions, $4.20; ministerial relief, $2; freedmen, $3.22.

The attendance of the people has been good, sometimes large. There have been some excommunications, but at present there is a spirit of harmony apparent in the congregation.

Rev. Mr. Wright, of Lac Court d'Oreilles, gives an interesting account of the head chief o his station, who had shown a spirit of inquiry. While his mind was still deeply interested, he went off on the autumn hunt, during which he was taken very ill. Having been brought home by his three sons, he lay for a time the victim of much suffering, but manifested a deep repentance for sin, and a hearty reception of the grace of God in Christ. "He passed away," says the report, "very quietly, leaving evidence that he had understood and received the Gospel. Religious services have been held in the houses of his sons, which have been largely attended by the neighboring Indians, among whom, it is believed, the good seed has been sown not in vain."

Statistics of the Lake Superior Chippewa Mission.

Ordained missionaries	2
Female missionary teachers	2
Ordained native	1
Licentiate	1
Communicants	73
Number added	4
Contributions	$133 95

The Dakota Mission.—The able report of Rev. John P. Williamson for the past year bears evidence of a consciousness on his part that whatever has been successfully achieved during the year, the vastness of the work yet to be done is still more impressive.

"The Dakota Mission," says his report, "was started by Presbyterians under the American Board in 1835, and the first church among the Dakota Indians was organized as a Presbyterian Church by Rev. Thomas S. Williamson at Lac qui Parle, in 1837." Great inroads have been made upon the heathenism of the Indians since that time. "The medicine dance is entirely given up. The sun dance, another great feast of the gods, has been proscribed by the Government, and it is doubtful whether such a gathering can be held during the coming year. Warfare is almost as much one of the lost arts as the making of pottery or the starting of fire with two sticks. But amid this decay of the former life there is a general turning of the Indians to seek after a new life. Everywhere there is an open door for civilization and Christianity. Twenty-five hundred Dakota children are in schools supported by the Government; the rest are in schools of the different missionary boards and societies. But with all that is being done, including the Catholic missions, more than double the present numbe r of school children are as yet unreached."

There are about 1,800 communicants gathered in the different Protestant churches; eighteen different agencies or stations being worked among the Dakotas. Two of the largest agencies—Rosebud and Pine Ridge, with nearly 8,000 Indians each—have only one missionary each, while Lower Brulé and Devil's Lake Agencies have no missionaries, but simply a few native workers.

The Presbyterians among the Dakotas are organized into a presbytery of their own, with 11 churches and 700 church members. There are 12 ministers, of whom 9 are natives. The total church contributions in the presbytery during the year were about $2,000, or nearly $3 per member. Seven of these eleven Presbyterian churches are under the Board of Home Missions, three under the Foreign Board, and one under the Native Missionary Society.

Among the 2,000 Indians at the Yankton Agency there are 2 churches. Rev. Henry Selwyn, a full-blooded Indian preacher, is stationed there, and is doing effective work. Thirty-three members were received into the Yankton church on profession of faith, making a total now of 101 members. Twenty-two Indians were baptized. This church gave $174.14 to the Native Missionary Society, which was nearly twice as much as they gave their pastor. To all objects they contributed $350. Nearly $100 of this was raised by the woman's society—most of their money was earned by piecing quilts and selling them at about $3.50 each.

There is also an active Young Men's Christian Association in this church, which is doing a good work, caring for the sick and holding meetings at out stations.

The Hill church, so called, is 11 miles east of the Yankton Agency, and numbers 61 members. Eight have been received on profession during the year. The total contributions of this church were $90.81. It has also a woman's society, which raised $36.

Fifteen miles northwest of the agency is the White Swan station, where a school is conducted during the winter months. During six months of the year regular Sabbath services are held, including Sabbath school. Eight persons from that neighborhood have made a profession of their faith in the agency church. There are still others who hope to unite in the future, and the prospect is good for the organization of a church at White Swan.

Miss Hunter reports forty-two pupils in attendance at her day-school during the year, though the average attendance was only ten.

The Presbyterian church at the Flandreau station has in its communion about one hundred members. Rev. John Eastman, the native pastor and earnest preacher, says: "There is something to discourage Christian activity in the fact that nearly the whole settlement, numbering only two hundred and sixty-eight souls, is embraced in the membership of the church. The people can grow in grace, however, and are doing so." In contributions they are steadily advancing. They gave to the Native Missionary Society $147.61, and pay their pastor $150. To miscellaneous objects they gave about $50, making a total of $347.61.

This church has been fruitful in supplying native helpers for work in other parts of the mission.

THE NATIVE MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Of the Native Missionary Society, Mr. Williamson's report speaks with particularity. This society embraces all the Presbyterian and Congregational churches among the Dakotas as its supporters. Its officers are chosen at the annual meeting of the representatives of the different missions. The society employs three native missionaries, whose work has received the evident blessing of the Lord. One of the missionaries is at the Cheyenne River agency on Congregational ground; the others are at Devil's Lake, a Presbyterian field. The society numbers nine hundred and thirteen members, and the contributions last year amounted to $908.33. "This," says Mr. Williamson's report, "is as large an average per member as the whole Presbyterian church gives to foreign missions; but with the Dakotas this takes the place of both home and foreign missions. However,

when we know that there are no legacies, and no large individuals donors, but that it is all given by what our American churches would call the poorest class, and that nearly one-half of it is raised by the needles of the Indian women, we may see that the love of souls has taken a deep hold on their hearts."

The report adds: "As to the part borne by the different missions it may be of interest to know that the churches in connection with the Presbyterian foreign board with two hundred and sixty-seven members, contributed $383; the seven churches of the Presbyterian home board, with four hundred and seven members, contributed $278. The three Congregational churches, with two hundred and twenty-four members, contributed $200."

HIGHER EDUCATION.

Mr. Williamson calls attention to the fact that there is but one institution of learning among the Dakotas where normal and theological training is given to young men, and that is supported by congregations in connection with the American Missionary Association. No similar institution is sustained by the Presbyterians under either the Home or Foreign Board. This is a fact which deserves to be pondered. Presbyterians can hardly expect other denominations to endow institutions for the training of Presbyterian missionaries. The report justly emphasizes the demand that the church shall prepare to train up teachers and preachers among the Dakotas. "If she is going to do this," says Mr. Williamson, "she should commence now; there is, as we see, a loud call for more laborers; there is plenty of room for another institution of higher learning among the Dakotas. Much interest is being taken in the education of the Indians. The educational channels are being worn, and if we do not commence soon it will be too late to change them."

GREAT NEED OF MORE MEN.

Mr. Williamson, writing April 18th, says:

"I trust the Board will find two men for this field, especially one to go to Pine Ridge, the other to go to Lower Brule. There is but one white minister (Episcopal) at Pine Ridge. Some of the agencies that we think need missions of our church, and require a knowledge of the Dakota language, are as follows: Pine Ridge Agency, Dakota, 7,000 Indians, 1 American Episcopal missionary; Lower Brulé Agency, Dakota, 1,300 Indians, 1 native Episcopal missionary; Rosebud Agency, Dakota, 6,000 Indians, 1 American Episcopal missionary; Standing Rock Agency, Dakota, 4,000 Indians, 1 native Congregational teacher, 1 Catholic missionary; Fort Belknap Agency, Montana, 1,700 Indians, no missionary of any kind; Crow Agency, Montana, 3,000 Indians, no missionary of any kind; Blackfeet Agency, Montana, 4,000 Indians, no missionary; Flathead Agency, Montana, 2,000 Indians, Catholic missionary."

WOLF CREEK.

At Wolf Creek, situated on the Missouri River, Rev. G. W. Wood speaks particularly of the hardships which the Indians have suffered during the year. His work evidently is largely of an eleemosynary character, yet no sphere of duty could be clearer than that which opens before him. The buffalo hunt of the previous year, conducted chiefly by white men for sport, nearly exterminated the great resource upon which this poor fragment of a tribe had subsisted. At the beginning of the year 1884 they suffered by the want of winter supplies, usually furnished by the fall hunt. Not only dried meat, but skins for clothing and wraps were sadly wanting. The very limited quantity of flannel given by the Government, and the inadequate annuities bestowed from the same source, were but a poor provision. "When the meager crops which they had obtained from the soil were exhausted," says Mr. Wood, "they ate their dogs and some of their horses. Meanwhile, in the spring of 1884, Congress made a special appropriation for the relief of the Indians in this Territory, for which, I understand, we are indebted to the Indian Rights Association. In the summer the Indians built a dam on Wolf Creek, and dug ditches for the purpose of irrigation, but were too late to secure a crop for their first season. Most of them have built houses of cottonwood logs to supply the place of the teepees formed of buffalo skins. The result of these hardships has been the disappearance from the neighborhood of more than one-half of these wretched people. The school, in consequence, has been reduced about one-half in size as compared with the previous year."

Mr. Wood has given considerable attention to providing suitable accommodations for the mission work. Sabbath services have been regularly maintained, though the number in attendance has been small. The school was suspended during the building of the dam in order that the children might assist. The boys and the girls labored together at this enterprise, as it seemed to be the only remaining hope of the tribe.

The report acknowledges a contribution of $372.25 from the Indian Rights Association for the relief of the very needy, particularly the women and children.

The position of a missionary among such a people and in a country where, last winter for example, the severity of the cold at one time reached 63° below zero, is like that of a father struggling to protect his children from suffering and from death. Those who criticise the work of missionaries among the Indians because large accessions to the church are not reported should consider that the task given them to do is to protect and care for those who are the subjects of relentless aggressions, and that to judge of their success merely by the reported church membership were as unreasonable and unjust as to assume that the management of an orphan asylum or an almshouse was faulty and unfaithful because converts were not numerous.

Statistics of the Dakota Mission.

Ordained missionaries	3
Female missionary teachers	3
Ordained natives	2
Licentiate	1
Native helpers	4
Communicants	262
Number added	41
Contributions	$788 42

Omaha Mission.—The Omaha Mission sends only partial reports. Rev. William Hamilton and wife, Mr. John T. Copley, Mrs. M. C. Wade, Miss M. C. Fetter, and Miss M. L. Barnes are still employed. No marked changes have occurred in the work. Preliminary arrangements have been made through the efforts of Mrs. Wade for the erection of a chapel, for which funds have been kindly offered upon condition of securing a Government title. This is now hoped for. In regard to the present chapel Mrs. Wade says: "We have to keep the children out of the regular services on the Sabbath in order to make room for those adults who come from long distances to attend. Still almost every time there are some who cannot get in, and always some who have to stand up." There have been innumerable offers of land upon which to build the chapel, some of them from Christian Indians, with whom it would be safe at least until the second generation had passed away. This great want, it is hoped, will soon be met. The number of church-members reported is 56. Only one has been added during the year. There have been in the school 38 girls and 4 boys.

The report of Mr. Copley says: "The condition of the church at the Omaha Agency has improved during the year. Sometimes on the Sabbath we could hardly find standing room in our school-building for all who came. The prayer-meeting also is better attended; yet the year has been one of pruning rather than of harvest. Three persons have been added to the church, and two are expecting to join, but five have been dismissed. The present membership, including four whites, is 59."

Mr. Hamilton presents an interesting report of his visitations among the Omaha Indians, near Decatur, Nebr., attending in some instances their heathen feasts and dances in order to secure an opportunity to address the people, which was sometimes given after the heathen orgies had closed. He says: "In my visitation from house to house I am often told of a feast in the neighborhood, to which I generally repair, and I cannot think of an instance in which the people have refused to listen to my addresses on such occasions." In one instance he addressed about twenty while they were eating. In another he found two groups of women standing outside of a hut in which the men were having their feast and their dance. These groups he addressed for some time, with apparent benefit. In the course of the day he visited four feasting places, in which he found altogether nearly one hundred persons.

Winnebago Mission.—At the Winnebago Mission, Rev. S. N. D. Martin and his wife have continued their labors, though Mr. Martin speaks in his report of the great disadvantage of being compelled to address the Indians through an interpreter. The man employed for this purpose has but a scanty knowledge of the English, and the knowledge communicated suffers from the imperfection of his dull perception and halting speech. About seventy-five persons are reached by the Sabbath services, and six families are visited each week. Two or three persons seem to have received Christ during the year.

Sac and Fox Mission.—Work at this station was commenced in 1883. Miss Shea and Miss Ball have found the people stolid, but not unkind. The nature of the pure savage is apparent in the absence of any aspiration for knowledge and moral elevation. Yet by kindness and fidelity good impressions have been made, especially upon the young. In the winter many of the people are scattered in pursuit of game, but during the summer months the work was pursued more advantageously. Worship and instruction in the

open air under the trees near the Indian camp seemed to be the most acceptable. The mission is two young to report classified statistics. The people, old and young, seem to be interested in pictures, whose object-lessons are freely used, and they are very susceptible to the music of the cabinet organ. A Christmas-tree proved very effective.

These people are surrounded by "civilization," yet they have learned only vice from the whites. They are suspicious and distrustful, and still adhere to their heathen rites. Miss Ball has resigned her connection with this mission.

At the Iowa and Sac station Mr. Irvin has continued his work, though under discouraging circumstances. The question of a removal of the Indians to the Indian Territory keeps them in an unsettled state of mind, and greatly interferes with successful mission work.

Creek Mission.—The work in the Creek Mission has progressed in the main satisfactorily during the year. Rev. Mr. Loughridge reports that he has conducted services at the North Fork church and at Eufaula, besides supplying the station at Little Kowetah, 6 miles distant, once a month. At the latter place a chapel has been erected, for which the members of the Eufaula church contributed liberally; some in their poverty gave $10 each, besides contributing something for the boards of the church. No report has been received of the work of Rev. Mr. McGee at Eufaula.

The North Fork church now numbers forty members, who, with the missionaries and others, have contributed for all purposes $134. During the six months of Mr. Loughridge's ministry in that church seven persons were received on examination, one on certificate; two backsliders have been restored, and nine children and one adult have been baptized. The native licentiate, Mr. Pasulty Fife, has preached in this church for a number of years, manifesting great fidelity. He has also supplied the pulpit at Eufaula in the absence of the missionary. A small Sabbath-school and Bible-class are kept up. The exercises in the school and church are mainly conducted in the Creek language. Mr. Loughridge says: "I rejoice to report that all of the New Testament has been translated into the Creek language; and the presbytery of Indian Territory, at its late meeting at Atoka, Choctaw Nation, appointed a committee, consisting of Rev. J. R. Ramsay, Mrs. A. E. Robertson, and Rev. R. M. Loughridge, with Elder D. M. Hodge as interpreter, to revise all the books and have them reprinted and bound in one volume. The presbytery also ordained Mr. Dorsey Fife, one of our native licentiates, as an evangelist among the Seminoles."

Mr. Loughridge reports two churches which have enjoyed great refreshings, in which about two hundred persons have been hopefully converted.

The relations of the home missionary and foreign missionary work among the Indians within the presbytery of Indian Territory are most harmonious and satisfactory.

Mr. Loughridge speaks of Waksuchee Tanyan, a Seminole licentiate, who, having been sent to the Caddoe and Wichita Indians to learn whether there was a demand among them for a mission school, presented to the presbytery a petition signed by twenty of the chiefs and principal men of these tribes, requesting that a school might be started, and stating that they could furnish about 120 children. In view of this application, the presbytery recommended the establishment of a manual-labor school for boys and girls, to be opened by the board of foreign missions. The tribes are living so near to each other that one school would serve both. These Indians live about 60 miles west of Wewoka, and are in a very barbarous condition, little having ever been done for their spiritual good. A Government day-school has already been established, but with very unsatisfactory influence.

At Wealaka, Mr. Diament has held two communion services of great interest, at which eight persons were baptized on profession of their faith. The Wealaka boarding-school, under the superintendence of Mr. J. P. Whitehead, has numbered about 110 pupils, equally divided as to sex; 18 of these are communicants.

The Presbytery has responded to the request of the Board repeatedly made, that Presbyterial supervision might be extended to missionaries of the Foreign Board as well as to those of the Home Board, with respect to salary, &c. In accordance with this request, the Presbytery recommended the payment of the following salaries: Rev. Mr. McGee, $300; Licentiate Waksuchee Tanyan, $300; Rev. Dorsey Fife, $250; Rev. Kowe Hacho, $200; Licentiate Gilbert Johnson, $200; Licentiate P. Fife, $200.

Statistics of the Creek Mission.

Ordained missionaries	3
Licentiates	1
Communicants	119
Number added	15
Contributions	$134

Seminole Mission.—Of the Seminole Mission, Mr. Ramsay reports that there are "in the boarding-school 67 pupils, of whom 49 are boys. The scholars have advanced steadily without serious interruption, making commendable progress in their studies. There has been some sickness, but through the blessing of God all have recovered." Many of the pupils have manifested religious interest, but none have made an open confession of their faith. One of the advanced pupils of the institution entered Park College, Missouri, during the year. Five others have removed to the normal school at Fort Scott, Kans. Mrs. Hannah Powell, who had for some time rendered valuable service without salary, had to return to her friends, much to the regret of her fellow-laborers, and Miss Elizabeth D. Davis has taken her place. By direction of Presbytery, a part of the members of the Wewoka church were set off and organized into a church called the Achena church, which is the Indian name for cedar. The native licentiate, Mr. Dorsey Fife, was appointed by the Presbytery as its stated supply. New members are being added to the church under his ministry, and an interesting Sunday school is conducted by the ministers and the members of the church.

Arrangements have been made under the direction of the Presbytery, to organize a church in a new settlement among the Seminoles, where already twenty-two native Christians are found, without organization, and almost entirely without the means of grace.

The statistics reported for the Seminole Mission are as follows:

Ordained missionary	1
Ordained native ministers	2
Licentiates	3
Native helpers	6
Communicants	47
Added during the year	13
Pupils in boarding-schools	67
Contributions	$42

Choctaw Mission.—Spencer Academy has been maintained as usual. The number of scholars, from 80 to 100, seem to be making good progress, and for whose spiritual interests earnest care is given; but specific reports have not been received of its work during the year.

Nez Percé Mission.—The Nez Percé Mission has suffered from the absence of Mr. Deffenbaugh, during much of the year. The work in the hands of Misses S. L. McBeth and K. C. McBeth, has, however, gone forward, "covering," as Mr. Deffenbaugh says in one of his letters, "every form and phase of Christian work among the Indians." Miss Sue L. McBeth has, as heretofore, given her chief attention to the work of preparing young men for preaching the gospel. Her own letters give some interesting accounts of the way in which these pupils have been transformed. One of them particularly, by the grace of God attending his instruction, has been changed from a "wild blanket Indian youth" to a comely, dignified, and even refined Christian man and Christian preacher. Others have had a similar history. Miss Kate McBeth's work for the Nez Percé women is hardly, if at all, less important and encouraging. These sisters have, indeed, been greatly prospered from on high in their faithful instruction and example.

The report given by Mr. Deffenbaugh for the first quarter of the year, the period previous to his return home on leave of absence, is full of interest, though, as he states, "the mission is at present in a state of transition," and lacks the settled order which is desirable.

The nature of the work devolving upon the missionary is largely that of itinerating or periodical visits with one or more of his native preachers, during which protracted services are held, including the communion of the Lord's Supper, baptism, marriage, &c.

The following extract from the quarterly report will afford an idea of the nature of the work:

"On Tuesday, July 21, in company with licentiates James Hayes and Peter Lindsley, I started for Spokan Station. On Friday evening we rode into Deep Creek settlement. The beaming and earnest face of our martyred elder, William Threemountains, was missed. No truer blood than his ever stained the ground, shed in defense of the truth. He was ever unsparing in his denunciations of the wicked practices of his people, and was shot down while remonstrating with a drunken half-breed. We missed his kind ministrations on our arrival, and for a time wandered about seeking friendly shelter. On Saturday and on the Sabbath the usual meetings were held, and the communion service was appointed for the following Sabbath. Word was sent out on Monday evening to the different settlements for the people to assemble for services during the week. On Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday the people came filing in from different directions, bringing their household goods. As arrangements were to be made for the com-

munion service one of the elders mounted his pony and started to the sutler's store at Fort Spokan, 15 or 20 miles away, to get some raisins for the sacramental wine.

"Among the exercises of Wednesday was a long conference with the elders in regard to the nature of their duties and the responsibility of their offices. I had announced that at the close of the service all unmarried members (who had lived together as husband and wife in the native way, in quite unsettled relations), should present themselves for Christian marriage. The elders went to work and gathered eight couples. They were seated in a row on one side of the building to receive some words of instruction, after which the couples rose up separately and were married. In the intervals of service we spent a short time in prayer and praise. Four persons were examined and received to the membership of the church, after which followed the sermon and the administration of the Lord's Supper.

"At the service next morning, Peter Lindsley was preaching, and I took a census of the people present, with the following result: Men, 39; women, 40; boys, 9; girls, 9; babies 12; in all, 109. These people are certainly not on the decrease, and a more evenly divided congregation as to sex would be difficult to find; and be it said to their credit that only three of the men wore long hair and blankets."

Statistics of the Nez Percé Mission.

Ordained missionary	1
Missionary teachers (female)	2
Ordained natives	7
Communicants	668
Number added	14

SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION BOARD.

INDIAN MISSIONS.

This year has been especially fruitful in the history of this mission. Under the direction of Presbytery the missionaries have gone out two and two, and have preached the word in many places. It was laborious service which brought its reward. At nearly every place, writes Mr. Read, there were some additions to the church. Quite a number were restored; many children were baptized, and hundreds came to join in the worship. At the Armstrong Academy there was a remarkable outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the boys who were under the care of Mr. Lloyd, and twenty-four of them were added to the church at one time.

There is another side of the picture, however. Rev. Allen Wright reports that although a majority of the Choctaws still maintain a great reverence for the Christian religion, many, especially among the young people, are very careless in regard to church privileges. This is attributed in part to the influx of great numbers of irreligious and ignorant whites, who often intermarry with the Indians, and exert an evil uence among them.

We regret that several members of this mission have failed to send in their reports for the year, so that it is not in our power to give the statistics of the work. In the reports which have been received, the statistics show that contributions were made to all the general objects of the Assembly's work.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

WORK AMONG INDIANS AND FREEDMEN.

Much progress has been made in the work among the Indians who are especially under our care. The details of this work will be found in the interesting and valuable reports of Bishop Hare appended. A note of progress which is well worthy of mention is the remarkable success of the efforts made by these Christian Indians in the direction of self-support, and also the comparatively large amount of their offerings for the general missionary work of the church. It is gratifying to receive the testimony of unprejudiced witnesses as to the success of this important work, and we take this opportunity, with sincere appreciation of its value, to put on record the hearty and spontaneous comment

of a distinguished laborer in this especial field, General Armstrong, of Hampton Institute, Virginia, that "Bishop Hare's work is the very best that is done among the Indians by any religious body in this country."

REPORT OF BISHOP HARE ON THE STATE OF THE MISSION.

A general conception of the state of the mission may be gotten from the comparative table of statistics which is herewith presented. It indicates, on the whole, marked increase:

Niobrara Deanery (Indian).	1884.				1885.			
	Baptisms.	Confirmations.	Communicants.	Offerings.	Baptisms.	Confirmations.	Communicants.	Offerings.
Santee Mission and including Flandreau	24	.....	209	$248 00	38	25	232	$245 00
Yankton Mission	69	19	181	348 00	52	24	186	376 00
Crow Creek Mission	28	.....	51	119 00	51	13	64	185 00
Lower Brulé	24	9	42	103 00	55	31	68	252 00
Cheyenne River Mission	97	38	195	144 00	83	38	181	118 55
Rosebud Mission	106	10	96	256 00	105	19	118	269 00
Pine Ridge Mission	159	17	63	251 00	170	8	85	242 00
Sisseton Mission	26	.....	28	31 00	22	9	39	114 00
Total	533	93	865	1,500 00	576	167	973	1,801 55

THE NIOBRARA DEANERY.

A review of this field shows a marked degree of prosperity.

Ten new stations have been opened, eight new churches have been built, one native has been ordained, a larger number than usual, viz, 166, have been confirmed, and the offerings of the people are $300 in advance of what they were last year.

SELF-HELP.

There has been a gratifying increase in the offerings of the people, the money having been raised, some of it as I know, under stress of circumstances and in spite of hindrances. The record for some years past is as follows: Total offerings for the year ending June, 1881, $585; 1882, $960; 1883, $1,217; 1884, $1,514; 1885, $1,801.

A NEW FIELD.

A mission has been begun during the year on the Standing Rock Reserve, where there is a large body of Indians, Blackfeet, Uncpapa, and Upper Yanktonnais Sioux, as yet unreached by educational and missionary effort, some of whom have again and again sent us requests that we would come and do for them the work which we had done for other Indians.

A visit made to them by Rev. Mr. Swift in the winter of 1883, followed by a second in November, 1884, in which I accompanied him, brought matters to a head.

There was opposition from various quarters, brought about by various influences, but the representatives of the Indians, who had again and again invoked our help, rose and sententiously remarked that their minds were not changed, that they wanted our mission, that they had said this several times before, and now said it again.

An appeal in behalf of these poor people brought the president of the Niobrara League, the Woman's Auxiliary of St. Thomas's Church, New York, and other members of the Niobrara League to our help, and a church with parsonage attached was completed in August.

The church is located on Oak Creek, the site being so chosen that the mission may become a center for a settlement of farming Indians.

HOPE SCHOOL.

The beautiful and convenient new building was completed last October, and was occupied immediately by the school. It stands upon a superb site, on a high plateau over-

looking the Missouri River. It is built of chalk-stone on a limestone foundation. It is substantial, convenient, and handsome, and is the pride of the town and a credit to the church. It is a monument to the loving generosity of our friends at the East, to Mrs. Knapp, the principal, and Miss Knight, under whom the school reached a degree of success which called for a new building; and the children of a number of Sunday-schools and many others of small means, but warm hearts, gave of their little. The ladies of St. John's Church, Detroit, made up a special box containing bedding for both dormitories, window shades, rugs, and many articles, such as stand and bureau scarfs, cushions, shoe-bags; all made with the greatest care. The Missionary Society of Wethersfield, Conn., sent carpet, cot, and sufficient bedding for the girl's nursery. Special gifts paid for the girl's dormitory and the school-house, which bear the names of the donors, "The Langdon Dormitory," "Coleman School-house." The Woman's Auxiliaries of Massachusetts and Connecticut, the Niobrara League of New York, and the Indian Hope of Philadelphia, gave the enterprise their countenance, and this secured many gifts. Nearly $1,000 came through Mr. Herbert Welsh, who had visited the school, and was an eloquent witness to its value, while many dear friends and long-tried helpers of my work sent donations directly to me. The joy of this great success was alloyed by the ill health of Mrs. Knapp, which proved so serious that she was obliged to withdraw in January from the mission.

Miss Fanny E. Howes succeeded her, and though about the time of the change measles of a severe type afflicted the school and proved fatal in three cases, a brave and cheerful spirit was maintained by all concerned, and though the average number of the pupils has, on account of the sickness, been kept down, the accustomed neatness, order, and efficiency of the school were preserved.

ST. MARY'S SCHOOL.

The work of this school was conducted during the year ending June 30, 1885, in the building formerly occupied by Hope School, Mrs. Jane H. Johnstone being principal and Miss Francis the teacher. I had thought part of this building almost untenantable, but woman's self-sacrifice and skill and taste can accomplish all things, and the school, though its numbers were of necessity diminished, had a very happy and fruitful year.

THE NEW ST. MARY'S SCHOOL.

The new St. Mary's School has been erected four or five days' journey farther west than its old site, in order to provide for the wants of the 15,000 souls on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reserve, who as yet have seen but glimmers of the light.

The building is within about 8 miles of the Rosebud Agency, and within a few rods of a rapidly-flowing stream of good water. It will accommodate 40 children, of whom half will be girls and half boys. It will be ready for occupancy in September.

It has been constructed with a view to convenience, warmth, and durability, and is beautiful to look at as well. It is the wonder of the people.

God bless the good friends who came to our help when this school was burned down. Such disasters reveal how many and how warm they are. The sympathy evoked by the disaster was universal. The Indian children of St. John's School sent $35; an Indian candidate for holy orders and the members of the mission force, and persons who had happened to visit the school in years gone by, united in loving expressions of regret and in contributions. The Woman's Auxiliaries of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Jersey, the Indian Hope of Philadelphia, and the Niobrara League of New York, led off in contributions, and individual churches, Bible-classes, and Sunday-schools fell into line and followed suit.

To cap the climax, Bishop and Mrs. Bedell gave the money with which to erect the chapel attached to the school, which is called Ephphatha Chapel, in memory of one who, having been afflicted with blindness here below, now sees the King in His beauty.

The Rev. W. J. Cleveland, who has charge of the missionary work on Rosebud Reserve, has given his personal superintendence to the erection of the new St. Mary's, and the success which has crowned the effort is due largely to his devoted and efficient care.

SANTEE MISSION.

(Population, including Flandreau, 1,060. Under the charge of the Rev. W. W. Fowler, presbyter.)

The church and parsonage, united under one roof with St. Mary's School, and destroyed by fire in February, 1884, have been replaced by a church and parsonage separate from each other, both of them neat, tasteful, comfortable, and well-built structures. They were paid for out of the insurance.

The disastrous flood of a few years ago swept away the homes on the bottom-lands near the Chapel of the Holy Faith and drove the people inland. They were urgent that they should be provided with a chapel accessible from their new homes, and pledged themselves ready to do as much of the work as they could to make the expense as light as possible. Their wish has been granted—a new chapel was opened last fall. As the old chapel cannot be moved, it will be sold.

The Flandreau Mission has enjoyed since the beginning of December the services of Mrs. M. E. Duigan, who has done good work in visiting the sick, and other kindred work, and organizing guilds of the women there and at Egan and Dell Rapids.

YANKTON MISSION.

(Population, 2,000. Under the charge of the Rev. J. W. Cook, presbyter.)

The church here, built of logs some fifteen years ago, is in bad condition, and the faithful missionary and many of his people have had it very much at heart to put up another and more commodious one in its place, in which a large part of the material in the present church could be used.

Mrs. Twing on her trip here entered into the project with warm interest, and gifts of Miss Wolfe and Mrs. J. J. Astor will enable the missionary to carry out his wish. Part of the plan is that the Indian Christians shall provide stone and other material as a condition precedent. Delay in doing this has led to a postponement from month to month of this enterprise.

Emmanuel House, now occupied by Miss Ives and Sister Mary Z. Graves, has been a center of practical work of the highest value to the women and children.

YANKTONNAIS (CROW CREEK) MISSION.

(Population, 988.)

The statistics of the mission show a marked and cheering increase over former years. The third station, Saint Thomas's, suspended for some time, has been reopened. The missionary reports: "The church and mission house at the agency have been painted outside and in by the people, the amount expended being about $150. Of that sum, about $100 has been raised by the women's society and the balance given by the male members of the congregation, mostly the whites."

These Indians were, last spring, the victims of an egregious blunder of the Government, which took from them, without their consent and without compensation a large portion of their land and threw it open to white settlement. The attention of the present Administration was called to the matter by the Indian Rights Association and others, and a prompt and decisive order from the President prevented the consummation of the wrong.

LOWER BRULÉ MISSION.

(Population, 1,550. Under the charge of the Rev. Luke C. Walker, presbyter.)

Here also there has been a decided increase in fruitfulness during the year, as the table of statistics shows.

The Government has turned over to the Indians of Saint Alban's Station the lumber in two old buildings at Fort Hale, which they have hauled to a chosen site, and here, with the help of friends at Lower Merion, Pa., they are engaged in erecting a chapel. Their zeal is most commendable.

CHEYENNE AGENCY MISSION.

(Population, 3,188. Under the charge of the Rev. H. Swift, presbyter.)

From this mission the word has sounded out into a region entirely untouched by us hitherto, the Standing Rock Reserve, as I have described under the caption "A New Field." Within its own limits, too, a new mission has sprung up, one of those efforts of wild Indians just making their first endeavors, like infants learning to walk, which are so pathetic. I wrote of them some time ago, "The sight that meets Mr. Swift's eyes and mine in the vast wilderness was a new essay at a farming settlement, and at a central point a dozen Indians busy erecting a log chapel! I had sent them money with

which to buy flooring, doors, and window-sash. They had themselves cut and hauled and hewn the logs, had put them in place, and were doing all the work. These people are just coming in from wildness and heathenism. They had been notified of our intended visit, and gathered from all directions, some in wagons, some on pony back, and some on foot. They had learned a few of the hymns and some of the responses by heart, and their first essays at a responsive service were very interesting."

UPPER BRULÉ (ROSEBUD) MISSION.

(Population, 7,762. Under the charge of the Rev. W. J. Cleveland, presbyter.)

Unprecedented growth has crowned the work in this mission this year, and, God be thanked, friends were raised up to provide chapels and little mission-houses for several new stations.

Calvary Chapel was the gift of one who is known as "a friend of the Indian," whose munificent charity we have had occasion to acknowledge often before.

St. Mark's Chapel and House were erected by the Indian Hope of Philadelphia.

St. John's Chapel and House were erected by the Society of the Double Temple, New York, to whom we owe several other chapels.

Gethsemane Chapel, not yet finished, is the work of the Woman's Auxiliary of Connecticut, and of the "friend of the Indian" named above.

The services at Hakté Creek and White Thunder are conducted in Government schoolhouses.

Mr. Cleveland reports: "The attendance upon services at all these points now occupied, viz, seven, has been good, and the greater facilities given by the new buildings erected by the church and the privilege of using Government school-houses for holding services has added much to the effectiveness of our work."

The Indians hauled all the lumber except one load for the church at Oak Creek (Calvary Chapel), from Valentine, Nebr., a distance of about forty-five or more miles without pay, and at Little Oak Creek and Ring Thunder's Camp they also assisted in the hauling without pay to some extent.

OGALALA OR PINE RIDGE MISSION.

(Population, 8,117. Under the charge of the Rev. W. J. Cleveland, presbyter.)

The church at the agency has been enlarged during the year to meet the need of the increased congregation.

The chapel and mission-house in Little Wound's Camp, known as St. Barnabas's, have been finished, and the Rev. Amos Ross, a native deacon, will soon return to the Pine Ridge Mission and occupy them.

The Rev. C. S. Cook, lately ordained, has also been assigned to duty in this mission in order to meet its cheering increase and large demands.

SISSETON MISSION.

(Population, 1,500. Under the charge of the Rev. Edward Ashley, presbyter.)

This mission has been steadily growing and striking its roots deeper and deeper since its commencement. This spring witnessed an awakening which greatly cheered the missionary, and manifested itself among other ways in the presentation for confirmation of a class of twenty-five. The work calls loudly for small chapels at several of the out stations.

BOARDING SCHOOLS.

The average number at St. Paul's has been	40
The average number at St. Mary's has been	24
The average number at St. John's has been	36
The average humber at Hope School has been	24

St. Paul's boarding-school (*young men and boys*), *Yankton Reserve.*—The Bishop, president; the Rev. W. E. Jacob, principal; Mrs. W. E. Jacob, house mother; Miss James, teacher.

St. Mary's boarding-school (*girls*), *Santee Reserve.*—Mrs. Jane H. Johnstone, principal; Miss Mary S. Francis, teacher.

St. John's boarding-school (girls), Cheyenne River Reserve.—Mr. J. Fitch Kinney, principal; Mrs. J. Fitch Kinney, house mother; Miss Duncan, industrial teacher.

Hope School (girls and boys), Springfield.—Miss Fanny E. Howes, principal; Miss Maude Knight, teacher.

St. Paul's school reopened the 1st of September, the pupils cheerfully returning, and its full number being nearly reached within the first few days.

St. John's school reopened August 25. The principal wrote: "The children are all happy to be back, and drop into their old ways with work and studies splendidly."

DAKOTA HYMN-BOOK.

The painstaking efforts of the Rev. Messrs J. W. Cook and W. J. Cleveland and Mr. Charles S. Cook, the committee who undertook the preparation of a suitable Dakota hymn-book, were brought to a close last fall, and the book is now in the hands of the people.

FRIENDS.

The standing committee on the Indian concern produced the following report, which was read and was satisfactory to the meeting:

To the yearly meeting:

The standing committee on the Indian concern reports: That a year ago, as stated in our report, Isaiah Lightner had tendered his resignation as Indian agent at the Santee Agency, and we expected then soon to be released from further care of the Indians in connection with the Government.

No one was appointed, however, to succeed Agent Lightner, and winter approaching, making it unpleasant and hazardous to remove his family during the cold weather, he requested to be allowed to remain until spring, and his resignation was accordingly revoked.

During the latter part of the winter he again sent in his resignation to the Department. We recommended Charles Hill, a member of our society, who has been superintendent of farming operations at Santee Agency for several years past, as a suitable person to fill the vacancy. His thorough acquaintance with the duties of the agent, as well as his popularity with the Indians, rendered him, in our judgment, well qualified for the position. There has been great delay on the part of the Government in making an appointment; but recently, we are pleased to learn, Charles Hill has been appointed agent, and we presume will soon enter upon his duties.

One of the conditions upon which he agreed to accept the appointment was, that Friends would continue to have an oversight of the work at the agency and render him the same assistance extended to Agent Lightner, which we think it right should be done.

In the second month last, the President of the United States issued a proclamation opening up the Santee-Sioux Reservation to white settlers, said proclamation to take effect on the 15th of the fifth month following, and the allotment of homesteads to the Indians to be completed one month earlier.

Under the ruling of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs not only the adult male Indians were entitled to 160 acres of land each, as provided for by the treaty of 1868, but all minors and unmarried women were allowed 80 acres each, under a law passed by Congress in 1863.

This surveying and allotting of lands in severalty required the agent and his employés to do a vast amount of labor in a short space of time, but it was accomplished and has given great satisfaction to the Indians.

The Santees now have allotted to them 69,100 acres of land, and many of them have applied for, and some few of them have received, patents for their allotments. In addition to this the missionary societies and the Government hold about 1,100 acres of land for school and agency use. The remainder of the reservation—about 44,770 acres—has been restored to the public domain, and is subject to entry and settlement by white persons, so that, in the language of Agent Lightner, "We now have white settlers scattered throughout our agency, putting up buildings, breaking land and starting improvements generally, with a view to opening up farms. I think as a rule the surplus land has been taken by a good class of people, that their presence and example among the Santees will be of great and lasting benefit for general progress."

The Ponca and Flandreau Indians who are under the care of our agent are doing well

and we think if they can be properly cared for a little while longer they will be capable of taking care of themselves.

Agent Lightner, in his annual report, says: "The work for the last year has been satisfactory. Improvement and progress has been made; 3,527 acres of land have been cultivated; 1,011 acres sown to wheat, 585 to oats, 288 to flax, 1,446 to corn, and 197 to potatoes and other vegetables. Our crops have been good.

"Ninety-seven acres have been broken this year. Seed time and harvesting are past and threshing is now in progress. I cannot give exact figures as to quantity, but suppose about as follows, viz.: 14,156 bushels of wheat, 20,492 of oats, 2,845 of flaxseed, 47,627 of corn, and 6,000 of potatoes, sufficient for the tribe to subsist upon and to spare."

In order to enable our agent to purchase some clothing for school children and to procure delicacies for sick and infirm Indians, we have paid $50 of our Indian fund during the past year, and the convention of delegates from the seven yearly meetings on the Indian concern appropriated $50 for the same purpose.

Our work in behalf of the Indians the past year has been limited. We have used our endeavors to influence legislation at Washington in order that the Indians may have strict justice and to prevent obnoxious laws from being enforced. We have also contributed $28 in clothing, &c., to the Piute tribe of Indians. This, with the aid rendered Agent Lightner for the Santees, constitutes our chief work.

During the time Isaiah Lightner has been in charge of the Santees the missionaries who have had schools on the reservrtion have given him their hearty support. All have labored together in harmony, with one object in view—the elevation of the Indian race.

Alfred L. Riggs, for many years missionary and teacher for the American Missionary Association on the reservation, thus closes his report for the past year to Agent Lightner: "Allow me to express here my heartfelt regret at the speedy close of your relation to this people. I can testify that you have been the firm friend of this people; you have been full of sympaty and ready to help any good work which has been put forth in their behalf. As the Indians say, 'with a sorrowful heart I shake hands with you.'"

On behalf of the committee.

CYRUS BLACKBURN, *Clerk.*

FRIENDS—ORTHODOX.

To the Board of Indian Commissioners:

The Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs report:

All the Indian agents nominated by this committee have now been withdrawn from the service. During a part of the year since last report six Government boarding-schools and three day schools have been wholly or in part supplied with superintendents, matrons, and teachers by Friends. These schools have had an enrollment of 585 pupils. Besides these there have been 129 pupils in the two institutions, one in Indiana, the other in Iowa, known as White's institutes, making a total of 714 scholars under the care of 54 Friends. A day school has been kept up by our aid at the house of R. M. Williams in the Cherokee country, near the Quapaw Agency. We have also assisted a teacher who has had charge of a day school on the Seneca Reserve, Indian Territory, who has exerted a very useful influence upon the Indians in the vicinity of the school. Two Indian girls have been educated at Earlham College, one of whom is now teaching at the Wyandotte Government boarding-school. One boy has been educated at Maryville Normal Institute. Thirteen boxes have been sent to as many Indian schools, filled with carefully chosen presents for the children and teachers.

White's Institute, near Wabash, Wabash County, Indiana, has had a year of much success in training its pupils. It has a boys' home, a neat building for 24 boys; a main building for the family and some additional boys, and a girls' home attached to the latter, yet sufficiently seperated from it, where are accommodations for 35 girls. There is a commodious school-house near the main building of the institute, and a carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, and good farm buildings upon the farm, which comprises over 700 acres of good land. The gardening, farming, and stock-raising are all participated in by the boys. There have been 60 pupils, about equally divided between the two sexes. The boys are employed in all the operations of the farm, and shown how to manage the raising of crops and of cattle.

Three of them have been working as carpenters, and, under direction, have done as much work daily as white mechanics usually do. The girls have been trained in all the details of housekeeping, including the canning of fruits, cooking, butter-making, the cutting and making of dresses, and laundry work.

Half the day in summer, and more in winter, is given to attendance at school. The pupils have equaled or excelled white children in writing, drawing, geography, history, and in reading as far as the third reader. In advanced reading and arithmetic they have fallen behind white children. The buildings and grounds of the institute are in good condition, and its management has been very creditable to the officers in charge.

White's Institute, at Houghton, Iowa, is under the charge of Benjamin and Elizabeth Miles. They have had 69 Indian scholars, of whom more were girls than boys. The pupils have been well taught in school. The boys have done farm work of all kinds, and five of the largest of them were employed by neighboring farmers during part of the summer. These worked satisfactorily to their employers except one. The girls have been trained in housework, including the making of clothing. The superintendent states that the scholars have made good progress in their studies, have increased in religious knowledge, and have gained in Christian character.

The students in these institutes are taught habits of self-reliance and promptitude in business; also the value of time and the discreet use of money. These institutions have suffered much inconvenience from the action of the Department in reducing the allowance for each pupil from $167 to $150. This has restricted them from teaching trades as freely as they would otherwise have done.

By a contract with the Government the schools for the Eastern Cherokees in Western North Carolina have been since 1881 under the general management of Friends of North Carolina and Indiana, who have been represented by Barnabas C. Hobbs as educational agent. Five schools were established at such places as were most suitable to accommodate all parts of the band, and a sixth has been added as a Government training school, to which 40 pupils have been admitted, 20 of each sex. These schools have had an enrollment of 238, and an average attendance of 173. The sentiment in favor of education has rapidly increased in the band, and the members of it are considering the expediency of compulsory attendance at school.

The Tunesassa Boarding School, on the Allegheny Reservation, in Cataraugus County, New York, sustained wholly by Friends of Philadelphia, has had 35 pupils, of whom 30 were girls and five were boys. In the long history of this school it has never done better work than within the past few years, and the results in permanent molding of character were never more evident and encouraging.

A substantial Christian influence has attended the religious instruction given in these institutions, and indeed that given in all the schools under our notice. More than 100 out of the 714 children and youths in these schools have made profession of the Christian faith during the year, and a large part of them have given evidence of persistent endeavor to act consistently with that profession.

Missions.—There have been four Friends, with their wives, acting as missionaries during the year. They have been assisted by three helpers, one of whom is a native. There are twelve stations in the Quapaw and Sac and Fox agencies, Indian Territory, where meetings for worship are held, and there are now 168 Indian members. The additions have more than equaled the losses by death or removal to distant points.

The contributions for Indian work in its various forms has exceeded $12,000 for the year.

On behalf of the committee.

JAMES E. RHOADS.

BRYN MAWR, PA., *January* 25, 1886.

METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

COMMENCED IN 1814.

Two hundred and sixty-five thousand aborigines still linger within the United States. About one-half of them are so far civilized as to conform to the whites in dress, houses, and occupation; but in some cases, even among these, a party still exists retaining their pagan beliefs and practicing their pagan rites. That portion of the Five Nations located within the Indian Territory, numbering nearly 70,000 souls, are, doubtless, by far the most prosperous and promising of the remnant of the powerful tribes that once owned this continent.

Gambling, intemperance, licentiousness, indolence, and other degrading vices everywhere afflict the uncivilized portion of our Indian population. They are heathen,

with souls as immortal as any, and as fully within the compass of Christ's redeeming love. We who have entered into their inheritance, and before whose approach they have so nearly faded away, have peculiar obligations to the fragment that remains.

In former years vastly more was done by our own church for the Indians than is now being done, but we have still some interesting work among them. The tribes for which we chiefly labor are surrounded by our conferences and districts, and the work is therefore superintended in the regular way by bishops, conferences, presiding elders, and pastors. To aid in carrying forward the work, over $6,000 was drawn from the treasury of the Missionary Society the past year.

Rev. S. Snyder, superintendent of missions in the Indian Territory, writes:

"Our work in the Indian Territory has been fairly successful this year. Our greatest difficulty has been the need of men and money. My heart bleeds for this people. At one place I saw men and women kneel and pray to idols and offer their garments in sacrifice to the same, while their tears and cries were terrible to see and hear."

There are about 15,000 Indians in Montana. In the Fort Peck Agency there are twenty-four employés, but, we are informed, not a professing Christian among them. In this respect the present differs from the recent past, when the supervision of the religious societies secured at least some Christian employés.

At Poplar Creek, Fort Peck Agency, we have a school under the excellent management of Mr. and Mrs. L. R. Carpenter. They have been diligent in teaching the children Christianity and in training them in manual labor. The girls are taught sewing and housekeeping, and the boys have been raising crops that have in part supplied their needs.

Missions and appropriations by conferences.

Locality.	Mission.	Amount.
Central New York	Oneida Indian Mission	$200
	Onondaga Indian Mission	500
		700
Columbia River	Simcoe, Yakima	500
Detroit	Taymouth	150
	Saganing and Pinconning	150
	Superintendent	200
	Kewawenon	50
	Munising	50
	Hannahville	50
	Iroquois	50
		700
Genesee	Gowanda	300
Michigan	Isabella Indian Mission	175
	Riverton Indian Mission	100
	Big Rapids District	150
	Grand Traverse Indian Mission	200
	Northport Indian Mission	75
	Grand Traverse District	100
		800
Montana	Port Peck School	1,500
Puget Sound	Nootsack Mission School	500
Northern New York	Saint Regis	350
	Church repairs	250
		600
Wisconsin	Oneida	200

E.

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE.

FIRST DAY—OPENING SESSION.

The third annual conference of friends of Indian civilization was held at the Lake Mohonk Mountain House, October 7–9, 1885, on the invitation of the Hon. Albert K. Smiley, one of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and the owner of that beautiful resort. The objects of the meeting cannot be told better than in Mr. Smiley's own words. He said:

"The time has arrived for the opening of this conference, and I would like to make a little explanation before the appointment of officers in regard to its origin. For many years, ever since the organization of our Board of Indian Commissioners, it has been their practice to have a convention in connection with the annual meeting in Washington to discuss Indian affairs generally. To that convention the secretaries and well-known members of religious denominations have been invited, and they have generally been present, as well as members of Congress and others. In these discussions, usually occupying one day, we have always found that the time was short. The pressure of business in Washington was so great that we could not hold people together more than one day, and we have had to adjourn before we were through. So the thought struck me a few years ago that we could give more time to the subject by inviting friends of the cause to this house and having a three-days' conference. I suggested the idea to some of my friends, and they approved of it, and that is the way this conference originated.

"My aim has been to unite the best minds interested in Indian affairs, so that all should act together and be in harmony, and so that the prominent persons connected with Indian affairs should act as one body and create a public sentiment in favor of the Indians. It gives me great pleasure to welcome you all here. There has been a great advance in public sentiment. I feel exceedingly hopeful in regard to the Indian."

On motion of Mr. Smiley, General Clinton B. Fisk, of New York, president of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was elected president of the conference. Prayer was then offered by the Rev. Mr. Harding, of Long Meadow, Mass.; after which General Fisk, while doubting the wisdom of a third term (he presided at the preceding conferences), returned his thanks, and said:

"There is some progress in Indian affairs—not great, but we may say there is progress. General Grant in his first message used about this language: 'The treatment of the original owners of this country has been such from the beginning as to lead to continual murder and robbery and all sorts of affliction.' He added that his own knowledge of matters on the frontier, his own experience as a soldier, led him to believe that the rulers of this country had pursued a course, or that national legislation had been such, from the beginning, as to be most harmful to the Indian. He then said: 'I have adopted a new policy, which is working well and from which I hope the best results.' The new policy was the legislation which provided for the appointment of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and such other, in the spring of 1869, as led to a better understanding of Indian affairs. From that time—from the time when a certain delegation, one of the members of which is in this room, visited President Grant, when he said his knowledge as President and his knowledge as an old soldier should be thrown in the right direction for the Indian—progress has been marked. At midnight on March 3, 1871, Congress made that remarkable declaration that thenceforth no treaty should be made with an Indian tribe. They reached that decision after having made four hundred treaties, which had been frequently broken, with nearly one hundred tribes. Congress said we will put a stop to this wrong; we will not regard any tribe as a nation. From that time we have been visiting nearly all the larger tribes, and making certain agreements with them that are working for better things. Many of us are beginning to believe that the Indian has made all the progress he can under the conditions which have obtained in the past.

"At the first interview I had with General Grant after coming into this Board of Commissioners, he said, 'The trouble is, we regard the Indians as nations, when they are simply our wards.' General Grant went out on the skirmish line. Said he, 'We must make the Indian believe us; we must treat him as a ward. We should work especially to throw down every barrier in this country, so as to have no foot of land on which any American may not go.' This, of course, meant the doing away with all reservations, and pointed to the ultimate citizenship of the Indian; to his absorption, for which we have been working for more than a hundred years. We owe the Indian a great deal—land, homes, law, and, above all, patience and care. With such help coming to him and in confiding in those who deal with him, it will not be difficult in the future to settle this problem. It was more than a score of years ago that I met Bishop Whipple plead-

ing for the Sioux. Mr. Stanton said, 'What does Bishop Whipple want? If he wants to tell us that we have dong wrong, we know it. The remedy is not at this end of the Avenue; it is at the other end.' When you convince people, when you make the right sentiment that shall lead Congressmen to believe they had better give attention to this matter, then I shall believe the time is not far distant when there will be no Indians who are not American citizens. It is astonishing that nearly sixty millions of people cannot manage these few."

Ex-Justice Strong, of the United States Supreme Court, was elected vice-president.

Mr. J. C. Kinney, of Hartford, and Miss M. S. Cook, of Washington, were elected secretaries.

The president, authorized by vote of the conference, appointed the following general committees:

On Business.—Dr. J. E. Rhoads, president of Bryn Mawr College; Philip C. Garrett, of Philadelphia; Mrs. A. S. Quinton, of Philadelphia, secretary of the Woman's National Indian Association; Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, of New York; and Prof. C. C. Painter, of Washington.

On Roll of Members.—Drs. H. Kendall, M. E. Strieby, and William H. Ward.

By request, Dr. Rhoads made the following report:

Dr. RHOADS. At the conference held last winter in Washington, a committee of five was appointed to call upon President Cleveland, and lay before him such information with regard to the best methods of conducting Indian affairs as the experience of the last fifteen years had suggested to those immediately engaged in the work. President Cleveland kindly appointed a day and hour for us to meet him, and three members of the committee—Dr. Kendall, Dr. Strieby, and myself—called upon him in Albany, when he gave us a most attentive and courteous hearing. We directed his attention to a few distinct points: First, the importance of having a Secretary of the Interior who was in earnest sympathy with the cause of Indian progress, and who would devote himself to doing all that could be done in his office for the promotion of their welfare; secondly, that the Secretary of the Interior should so foster the work carried on by philanthropic and religious bodies for the education of the Indians, that the Government might avail itself of their effective help without interfering with the ordinary course of its administration of Indian affairs. We respectfully urged that the appointment of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs was also a very important matter; that he should be a man in the full vigor of life, who would be ready to give himself heartily to his duties. He should be allowed by the Department as much freedom of action and such authority as would be necessary to secure success. In the appointment of Indian agents it would be better to continue in power men of experience than to put in new men who, though they might be more able, were without experience.

Most of those in the field were doing well, but a few could probably be removed to advantage, and their places filled by better officers. We called his attention to the importance of sustaining the educational work which the Government was now carrying on, of maintaining the reservation schools and extending them so as to embrace all the Indian children. We especially desired that the Indian training schools should be sustained. We referred to the importance of defending the rights of the Indians to their lands, and that as soon as practicable they should hold their lands in severalty, under a provision enabling them to retain them at least twenty-five years without incumbrance before their lands became subject to sale; and that the rest of the reservations should be thrown open to public occupation, the lands to be sold by the United States and the proceeds applied to benefit the Indians. We also called his attention to the importance of placing the Indians under the protection and the restraints of law. President Cleveland listened with such apparent interest that we parted from him with the feeling that he intended to do all that in him lay, as President of the United States, to care for the rights of the Indians and advance them in civilization.

DR. STRIEBY. I want to add one thing. Dr. Rhoads spoke of the value of the services of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and the President asked who they were. We told him who they were, and of their supervision of the purchase of Indian supplies at the office in Worcester street, New York, which interested him much.

The PRESIDENT. We should like to hear from Dr. Rhoads as to the Indian becoming a homogeneous part of our country.

Dr. RHOADS. A glance at the map of the United States and Territories, prepared by the Department of the Interior to show the position and size of the Indian reservations, at once reveals the fact that almost all the Indians have been driven west of the Mississippi. The exceptions are that a small spot in Florida is occupied by the Seminoles, one in North Carolina by the Eastern Cherokees, others in Western New York by the Senecas, &c., and a few reserves are found in Wisconsin and Michigan. There are some large groups of Indians, as in the Indian Territory, which has a population of about 75,000; and in the great Sioux Reserve, which has almost 26,000; nearly 20,000 live along the

Canadian border, and large numbers are found on the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains, as well as in Arizona and New Mexico. But all Indian reserves and communities are surrounded by white settlements, and are not only affected at their margins by the influences of white civilization, but are more or less interpenetrated by it. In short, the Indians are now in a new relation to the white race, no longer to be forced back into unbroken wildernesses, but in ever-increasing contact with our American civil and social forces. The advancing host of native and immigrant people press the reservations on all sides, and the question of the civilization of the Indians and of their absorption into the body politic cannot be postponed, but must be met.

LANDS.

The whole territory held by the Indians comprises 137,764,731 acres, which seems an immense domain for so small a population. But it must be borne in mind that to a large extent the white man has possessed himself of the most fertile and well-watered lands, and relegated them to the arid and sterile districts. In fact, of the whole only 17,886,815 acres are reported to be tillable. In the Indian Territory, for exampie, a strip along the eastern border from 50 to 80 miles in width has plentiful rains and is fertile. But almost all that portion which lies west of the 100th meridian is so dry that it can be used for grazing only. The same remark applies to a large part of the great Sioux Reserve, and with yet greater force to the reserves in New Mexico and Arizona. In attempting, therefore, to make the Indians self-supporting, it must be considered that many of them occupy land on which white men could not make a living by farming, and that grazing must be their chief occupation. Moreover, as it requires from 10 to 30 acres to sustain one ox, and sometimes from 3,000 to 16,000 acres to support one family, the reservations will seem less disproportionate to their owners' needs than might at first appear.

POPULATION.

The whole number of Indians in 1884 was 264,369, exclusive of those in Alaska, who probably do not exceed 30,000. Instead of decreasing they are slowly increasing; certain tribes are dying out, but others, like the Sioux, have gained in numbers during the last fifty years. The New York Indians are said to have advanced from 4,000 to 5,000 within that time. In 1884 the births, as reported by the Indian Bureau, were 4,069, and deaths were 3,087, showing a gain for the year of about 1 in 264. A wild tribe, when it is obliged to settle down and live in houses, usually loses many members by death, but after having assumed civilized habits it slowly increases.

Of the whole number of Indians only a few Apaches in Arizona, perhaps two hundred in all, can be considered as now hostile to the Government; the rest are peaceable and likely to remain so unless provoked to some blind outbreak by injustice or cruelty. The number who speak English so as to be understood is about 70,000, and 146,642 are reported as wearing citizens' dress. The Indians own 29,976 houses, of which 1,975 were built in 1884.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE INDIANS.

There are two groups of Government officers who have to do with the Indians. At Washington Congress legislates for them, and the President, the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and all his clerks carry these laws into effect, and form one group. Another is formed by the Indian agents, United States officers who reside among the Indians on the reservations.

The Department of the Interior, with the aid of the Board of Indian Commissioners, purchases all supplies of food, annuity goods, &c., and contracts for their transportation to the railway station nearest to the Indians for whom they are designed. It directs and controls the agents, issues orders and regulations for the management of the tribes, watches over their legal and property rights, issues a code of "Courts of Indian offenses," and keeps an elaborate system of accounts for the five millions of dollars it annually expends.

But the Department at Washington could effect nothing for the good of the Indians without the afore-mentioned Indian agents, by whom the actual task of civilizing them is accomplished. The agents are appointed by the President for a term of four years. They are usually supplied with a house, often a poor one, at some point convenient to the tribes under their care. Near it are a commissary building where the stores of food, &c., are kept to be issued to the Indians—a blacksmith shop, the trader's stores, the houses for employés, the buildings for schools, and perhaps a saw-mill to supply lumber, so that the whole at one of the larger agencies constitutes a little village. As the agent

is intrusted with property, he has to give a bond with securities for a sum varying from $10,000 to $30,000. Take an agency in the Indian Territory with from three thousand to five thousand Indians. The agent must make out each year a complete estimate of all supplies, implements, &c., required for his people, and send it to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington. When the goods arrive he must receive and account for them, certify to their conformity to the samples by which they were purchased, and distribute them with strict impartiality to each family, taking receipts for all moneys disbursed. He must gain and hold the confidence of his Indians, restrain them when they are irritated or capricious, advise them in all difficulties, make an annual census of them (if he can), plan buildings for all purposes (including those for boarding schools), make contracts for their erection, and see that these are honestly performed.

When the goods arrive the Indians come in from week to week for their food. Formerly the beef was distributed to the chiefs of bands; now it is apportioned to each family. The animals are weighed alive, turned out to the Indians, are shot by them, the skin kept for sale to the trader, and the other soft parts are wholly consumed. Each year the goods for clothing are distributed in like manner.

The agent also is practically chief magistrate. He selects a body of men for a police force, pays them $8 a month, drills them, and uses them for the arrest of transgressors, white or red, and thus keeps good order on his reservations. Moreover, he holds a court with the aid of certain of his people to try offenders, fining them if convicted or sending them to a United States court for trial. Then he does all that in him lies to stimulate his Indians to take up land, to fence and plough and cultivate it. But the Indian seems to be as averse to assuming our mode of life as we would be to adopting his, and the task of the agent is a most difficult one. Until we comprehend this we shall not understand the Indian problem. An agent induced a wild Cheyenne chief with his band of young men to carry the United States mail, and for months he did it with faithfulness. Again he sent one of his employés with wild Indians and ponies one hundred and fifty miles to the railway station for the agency supplies. Here they received wagons from the Government, loaded them, harnessed their ponies to them, and hauled the goods safely to the agency. This is a civilizing process.

There are traders licensed by the Department who buy from the Indians skins and produce and sell them what they want. These traders are everywhere spoken against, but take great business risks, and in many instances contribute to the civilization of the Indians.

On each reservation the agent must establish a boarding-school, must have the building erected and furnished, and get the parents to bring the children to school. Remember that when the wild Indians first bring their children to be placed at school, it seems to cost them nearly as much as it would cost us to put a child of ours in their care. They come trembling, and with the greatest moral effort, with the utmost stretch of human confidence, give their child into the hands of the agent to be educated. We should give them honor for this.

The boarding-school takes the child from camp life, isolates him from its savage influences and brings him under the control of Christian teachers. In all these schools instruction in work is considered of equal or greater importance than that in letters. But the children have to be trained in everything and to unlearn their savage ways; but for the most part they are singularly docile. On some reserves there are day-schools away from the agency to catch and train the children, as it were, until they can be placed in the boarding-schools.

Besides these reservation schools, there are seven training-schools away from reservations. General Armstrong, at Hampton, has 100 pupils; Captain Pratt, at Carlisle, has about 500; at Salem, Oreg., is another with 200 children; at Genoa is a school with 150 children: in Kansas, one with 250 pupils; in the Indian Territory, near the Kansas border, is the Chilocco School, with 150 boys and girls; at Albuquerque is a school under the management of the Presbyterian Church. Besides these there are admirable schools among the Sioux conducted by the Congregational and Episcopal Churches, and there is no better work done in the whole field than by some of these schools. In Indiana the "Friends" have a school with 60 pupils, and another in Iowa. Then there is the Lincoln School at Philadelphia; and at Sitka, Alaska, the Presbyterian Church has good schools. Of the 45,000 Indian children who ought to be in school, 19,593 were enrolled in 1884 as having attended either a boarding or day school, and the process should be extended until all Indian children are brought under training and prepared for our modes of life.

The 45,000 children include those of the five civilized tribes, and the total sum appropriated for Indian education for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885, was $1,700,000. That is a great increase from the grant made ten years ago, and Congress deserves commendation for its liberality in this respect.

In Indian education, instruction in work is regarded as of great importance, and scarcely second to that in letters, while training the morals, manners, and the habits of

civilized life is persistent. Boys are taught farming, the care of cattle, and such trades as harness-making, blacksmithing, tailoring, tin work, wagon building, and carpentering. Two Indians taught in the Forest Grove school now take contracts for buildings, supply the materials, and erect them. The girls are drilled in all household matters, and many a lodge or little home now shows the effects of such instruction by its neatness, its regular meals, or by the use of crockery or other household furniture. Not fast enough, yet by a steadily advancing process the ideas of our settled communities are being diffused through a large part of our Indian population, and whatever plans for the future may be adopted, they must be based upon the work already done, and be an expansion of present methods.

The churches have done much to aid the Government in its difficult task in civilizing the Indians, and the Government should foster the educational work of the churches. In 1884, the latter contributed $179,085 to Indian education, almost one-third of the sum, $650,000, expended by the Government for the same purpose. Much has been achieved, but much remains to be done, and to that the people of the United States should address themselves with confidence, wisdom, and hope.

Letters of hearty sympathy and approval, and of regret at unavoidable absence, were received from a large number of prominent persons, including Secretary Lamar, Indian Commissioner Atkins, Miss Cleveland, Bishops Huntington, Hare, and Whipple, Archdeacon Farrar, the Rev. Drs. Phillips Brooks, R. S. Storrs, and T. L. Cuyler, United States Senators Hoar, Hawley, Morgan, Vest, Van Wyck, and Chase, Congressmen Hewitt, D. R. James, and O. B. Potter, Judge Shoemaker, Generals Sheridan, Crook, Miles, and Milroy, Captain Pratt, College Presidents Gilman, Chase, Seelye, Caldwell, Editors Dana, Reid, Pulitzer, and George W. Childs, and others.

Prof. C. C. Painter was asked to speak on the present condition of the Indian question and the difficulties in the way of progress. He said:

"There are a great many things I could say, but the question is, what are the pertinent things with reference to the object for which we have come together? I could give some account of my visit among the Indians; of the wonderful progress I have seen, and also the difficulties and hardships, as among the mission Indians in California; my interview with Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson a few days before her death, and how these people lay upon her heart, and how her interest and prayers were all in this work; and I could tell of the condition of those Indians—a condition that would appeal, not alone to Mrs. Jackson, but to the hardest-hearted person you could find, unless it be a California land-grabber. Their condition is very sad.

"The problem does not lie with the Indian as a physical, intellectual, or moral being. The difficulty is not in the Indian. I could give illustrations of this, where Indians have had half a chance. The illustrations are few, I will admit, but I could show that the difficulties do not lie with them, but in Washington; they began with the policy that treated the Indian as a foreigner with whom we could make treaties, and with whom we need not keep our word. They began when we left the Indian outside our institutions and the protection of our laws; with no opportunity as a man, and no protection as a citizen; with no chance to take root, and no chance to show that he could do anything. Look at our treaties with the Cherokees in the South. There was a case of successful nullification in Georgia just at the time when nullification in South Carolina was put down with an iron hand. The Supreme Court of the United States decided that the laws of Georgia extended over the Cherokee Reservation, under which Drs. Worcester and Butler, missionaries to these Indians, were imprisoned, were unconstitutional. President Jackson said, "John Marshall has given his opinion, now let him execute it." We could illustrate with the Delawares of Ohio, but there is not time. We have torn the Indian up and given him no chance to take root anywhere. We have formulated this problem in such a way that the Indian agent is the factor in it. Dr. Rhoads refers to some agent as doing all he could to get the Indian lands in severalty, but that depends upon the man. When he begins to do that he will find himself tied hand and foot; he will find difficulties in Washington; he can't do it. That agent has been selected and put in a position under which, if he succeeds, it will be by a wonderful Providence. The present system allows the selection of an agent with no reference to the Indian whatever, but to political considerations and political rewards. I am amazed that we have so many good men as we have as Indian agents. Congress puts an obstacle in the way of success by granting a pittance to a man who has to take his family, leave civilization, and go out among Indians to live. It is a bid either for imbecility or rascality; a bid for a man who is not worth anything else, or for one who sees his opportunity to cheat. If the agent be honest, he is yet tied up hand and foot if he attempts to do all the good he can. He undertakes to do a thing, and he can't do it. He reports his difficulties to Washington; the Indian Commissioner feels that the system ought to be reformed, and he finds that he himself is tied.

"And so the matter comes back to members of Congress, who undertake to reform it by legislation. Well, I would like to have you undertake to secure legislation in

regard to the Indian. There is difficulty in procuring *any* legislation, but peculiar ones are found here. So far as the Indian is concerned, legislation, till quite recently, has been controlled in large measure by the greed of the Western land-grabber. But we have a better condition of things now. If something is to be done in the way of legislation, and somebody introduces a bill and it is referred to the Indian Committee, one side of the story is given, but the Indian has not been heard so that there may be security that the object proposed is really a good one. The bill is introduced, and if it does not conflict with any white man's interest it has some chance to get through; but if there is that antagonism from any source, the friend who has introduced a good bill finds himself tied up by the rules of the House. On special days, when his committee has the floor, and he has the consent of the committee of which he is a member to bring forward that measure, it may be taken out of the regular order by, I believe, a two-thirds vote of the House. But, in the regular order, it is buried under five hundred bills. Now, such a bill does not stand much chance on that one day, because there are railroad corporations and moneyed men who will occupy the attention on that day. The legislator is hampered, tied; he can't do it. Where are those bills in which we have been so interested? Why haven't they passed? Simply because there is no time for this one bill for the benefit of the Indian, who has no voice and few friends—nobody to push it against the interests of the white man.

"Then, responsibility for Indian matters is so divided that it rests nowhere. It is over in the Treasury Department, and it is not in the Treasury Department. It is in the Indian Bureau, and it is not in the Indian Bureau. It is in the Department of Justice, and it isn't there—it is somewhere else. I will not undertake to say how the Commissioner of Indian Affairs makes his estimates as to money needed for the Indians, and how it goes to the Appropriation Committee. If you take the estimates of the Indian Commissioner, and then take the bill prepared by the House Committee on Appropriations, you will see that the latter take the liberty to think they know more about the Indian than the Indian Commissioner himself, and they cut down his estimates fearfully.

"In every case the estimate is cut down, unless, perchance, a member of the committee comes from the State to which this appropriation would go; in that case it stands. The committee make the report, and it goes into the House. Somebody there concludes he knows more about it than the committee, and insists upon cutting it down still further.

"They know nothing about the merits of the bill, but they must make a record for economy, no matter if it cuts down into the life of the people, as it did two years ago in Montana, where 482 Indians, out of a population of a little less than 2,000, died in nine months. With that warning before the committee, that condition of things urged upon them, the Commissioner makes his estimate the next year, and they cut it down. The Commissioner makes his report to them, unless that appropriation i made before the holiday recess, or at least by the middle of January, the probabilities are that the Indians will not get the benefit of it till they have had to go through their sufferings again. The Commissioner makes his estimates again and recommends an appropriation of $50,000 for the Montana Indians. I went to Washington to see if that measure would be taken up by Congress. I went to the Commissioner, and he said he had made his estimates. I went to the chairman of the committee of the House, and he had never heard of it. I went back to find where it was, and was told that Congress had made a law the year before regarding all such estimates: they were to be sent to the Treasury Department, and by it to be referred so and so, and to be printed so and so, and to be sent so and so. Well, it hadn't been sent there. The question was, where was it? In a few weeks Congress would adjourn, and the time was coming when these goods could not go in, so I start through the Departments to find out about it. I go through the Indian Bureau; I chase it round and round, and after a while find it in charge of a certain clerk who has the estimates for deficiencies, till just about the close of Congress, when all this will be sent there in a batch. I go to him to see if some action cannot be taken, lest these people starve; but he cannot help me, and I go back, and back, and back. Instructions are issued that this be sent over. Mr. Dawes goes around and makes an impression on the Department that it is essential that this be done. He also goes to the Treasury Department for action. It comes from there. Understand that unless the Indian has a friend, it lies there. The clerk has done his duty when he has made a record of it, and when, in the course of time, he has sent it along. I go there and find they have been sent over all in a lump. I follow it up through three or four different rooms and at last find it hidden under a total of deficiency estimates have been made for about $4,000,000 for the Interior Department. There is nothing to indicate that it is a matter of pressing urgency any more than the deepening of the channel for the Podunk River. You undertake to get this detached and sent out and are informed that it can't be done, except by a letter from the Secretary of the Interior. I go to him. He says there need be no trouble; just send the whole back to me. I go back on a fool's errand; as the clerk who has them in charge says this cannot be done, except in such and such a

way. After more than a day's work I write a letter asking that this be sent back, because they wish to take special action, and it is sent back. It goes over; it goes through the Treasury Department. What is it there for? We get it over to the chairman of the House. He has said that when it reaches him he will introduce it at once. We get it to the Speaker's desk, and to the committee, and finally to the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations a day or so before Congress adjourns. It has taken nearly two weeks, and then he declines to do anything about it, and Congress adjourns.

"That is a fair representation. I don't care in what Department it is, you will find that the man who is working for the Indian is tied up. You must be patient with Mr. Dawes, and with the Secretary of the Interior, for they are trying to do the best they can. If you are working for any legislation in the direction of the Indian you will find, unless you can identify it with the white interest so that that will carry it, that you are tied. I am satisfied that the time has come when we should sweep this whole system away and put the Indian on the basis of a white man, and give him a man's chance in this country under the law.

"Take the Indians in California. If they have any rights they should be vindicated; if they have none, then do not send an agent there to look after them. These Indians are just as capable of taking care of themselves as white men. Why pay a man a salary to do what he cannot do? I wish I had in my pocket the pitiful appeal of the Indians, saying to the minister in Washington "all we want is some place on which we can live." And to-day men are pushing Indians off these lands which they have had from time immemorial. Here is our superintendent of schools; he is trying to do just what we talked of two years ago. He sees it clearly; he sees what these schools are. He has a good deal of enthusiasm, and a good deal of hope, but I fear when he comes to the point that he will find he is tied in every direction. Take the interest of the school; the agent has the appointment of the teacher as an inducement to take the position of agent. Our Government is so poor it can't pay, but the agent puts his wife or daughter or friend in as teacher, and the school helps out the salary. I think the time has come when we should take the ground that we should regard the Indian as God regards him, and give him his rights and a man's opportunities in this country. When we have done so the Indian problem will take care of itself in a short time."

Dr. MAGILL, of Swarthmore College (Pennsylvania). "I wish I had some words of practical value to add to those already spoken, but I must say that after hearing the last speaker, and giving such attention to the subject as I could—which has not been much—the difficulties loom up, and they do seem, as has been said, almost insuperable. What have we been doing the last hundred years but driving the Indians to the West, and herding them together in those portions of the country which are in most cases worthless, on lands where, if they should be taught agriculture, they could not make a living? What have we been doing but separating the Indians from the whites, and making treaties with them? Suppose we take the same course with any other class of people in this country, for we are made up from all nations. I have thought that if we should separate the colored race and treat them in the same way we should have a similar result. I was glad General Grant thought proper to take one step and consider them as wards; but I would go further and say it is time to consider them not as wards, but as individual citizens. Until we are right on that point we shall not be on right ground. If there was any way in which these reservations could be broken up and the Indians placed upon them and allowed to go where they chose it would be better, or if we could have taken the course pursued in Canada, that of absorption, it would have been better. But we have gone on in the wrong way, and now we have got to remove the difficulties that have accumulated in the last century. The problem is a difficult one, and one upon which I have not the power to make any suggestions that would be of any value. But we shall never be on right ground till we give them equal, independent rights, and cease to consider them as a people."

The remaining moments of the morning session were occupied by General Whittlesey, who, by request, spoke on the evils of the present system of annuities, and the issuing of food and clothing.

General E. WHITTLESEY. "Mr. Chairman, I suppose there ought to be, and is, lying back in some corner of my brain some apt line of Homer, or maxim of Seneca, that would be appropriate for an introduction to this subject, but I do not think of any just now, and therefore I will fall back upon a book more familiar in these days than Homer or Seneca, and give you the words of St. Paul, 'If any man will not work, neither shall he eat.' We have been, for one hundred years, teaching the Indian to violate that precept. We have been feeding the Indians, to a large extent, in idleness, and we have cultivated in the mind of the Indian the sentiment that work is dishonorable and entirely unnecessary, and that he has a right now to demand of the American Government that he shall be fed without work; that he shall have an abundance to eat as long as he lives, and shall spend his time in riding upon his pony or sitting

idle in his camp. So we have made the Indian, by our treatment, a pauper and a beggar. That they are inveterate beggars, we all know who go among them. They are as persistent beggars as the Italians about Naples. They will follow you everywhere, asking for things they need. When they go into council the great burden of their talk is what they want the Great Father to give them—more beef, more clothing, more everything, and then they want him to give them more land. Now, having made him what he is, the difficulties of making him something else are very great, as we have heard this morning; and I do not suppose it will be possible to make him anything else than he is. I suppose we shall have to go on feeding him in idleness as long as he lives, excepting here and there a few whom we may persuade to do better. But those who are growing up—the young Indians—will become beggars by our fault if they become beggars; by our keeping on cultivating those habits of life that we have been cultivating for one hundred years. But I am sure we can stop doing that. Now, some of us have seen the issue of provisions and clothing to the Indians. It is not a process pleasing to describe. We know how debasing it is. We have seen, also, the issuing of money, paid out *per capita*, and that is more demoralizing, if possible, than food or clothing. I have seen Indians come to the agent's office and beg their money—he is compelled to give it, to the hurt of us and them—and go off into the bushes, a few rods away, and there commence gambling. I have seen them do it again and again, and they do not stop till their money is gone. I believe nine dollars out of ten in the last twenty years have been wasted in that way. The money has gone to corrupt Indians. Yet we are obliged to issue these annuities, because we have made these unfortunate treaties, in which we have sworn to our hurt and theirs, till we can persuade the Indian to something better."

Mr. SMILEY. "One word in regard to Professor Painter's remarks. While they are true, there are some things that, in a general audience, might be misunderstood. We all know that when a man has only one or two to work for him there is no red tape; but when you have a large force of workmen there have to be regulations and rules, and a complicated system of book-keeping. Now, anybody may think it an easy task to manage the Interior Department in regard to the Indian Bureau, but it is not so. In the first place no money can go out except by appropriation from Congress. That is good law, but everybody winces under it. Suppose we could pay out without orders, what would be the result? I will warrant that every ten cents sent to the Indian would cost a dollar before it reaches him. You have got to go through a great number of departments, and nobody can prevent this; it must be so, because of the large appropriations You cannot pay an Indian agent unless the matter goes through nineteen desks. It is a good deal of it necessary, and I sympathize with the red tape, although I wish it were swept away. If the Indian is put on his own footing he goes to his own court; his troubles will not be settled at Washington. Furthermore, if he has a vote, the neighbors will look out for him, and help him."

The session then adjourned until evening. In the afternoon Mr. Smiley gave his guests a mountain ride to Guyot's Hill.

FIRST DAY—EVENING SESSION.

The conference reassembled at 7.30 o'clock p. m.

On calling to order, President Fisk said: It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Hon. Erastus Brooks.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, and ladies and gentlemen, I thank you cordially for your kindly introduction to this audience. But I desire, first of all, personally, and as part of my duty, to express my cordial thanks to our host for the privilege which enables me to participate in your deliberations. I have prepared a paper somewhat historical in its character, and am a little doubtful, perhaps, of the wisdom of recurring to history and the duties of the past in regard to the duties of the present. But, as history repeats itself from year to year, and as the men of one generation are like the men of another, I have thought that it might not be unprofitable to recall some incidents in the history of the Indians. In that spirit and purpose I have prepared this paper on the history of the Indians for the past two hundred and seventy-five years. But I beg you to understand that the length of the period has no reference to the length of my address.

THE INDIAN IN AMERICAN HISTORY—ADDRESS OF HON. ERASTUS BROOKS.

It has been said in extenuation of wrongs inflicted upon the Indian that he was the steward of but one talent, buried this talent, made no interest on his money, and as a natural sequence of his limited possession and persistent burial, it is added, "From him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have." The white people have unquestionably obeyed this Scripture to the letter; but upon a precedent of morals and administration like this, it might be concluded that the

world is divided into just two classes—the strong and the weak, the powerful and the helpless, in order that

They may take who have the power,
And they may keep who can.

The millions of emancipated slaves, of ignorant whites, and the tens of thousands in asylums, institutions, prisons, and poor-houses, fare better than this, alike in general sympathy and public legislation.

The Pilgrims—all honor to their many virtues, of which the treatment of the Indians and Quakers is not one—unquestionably extinguished the title of the Indian lands, as did the Cavaliers in Virginia, the Huguenots north and south. The millions from abroad and the more millions born upon the soil not only followed their example, but have gone far beyond it.

To the credit of a Massachusetts law, as old as 1633, it was enacted that the Indians might have like land allotments with the English, and if "a competent number proved capable by what was called *civility*, they shall have parts of land undisposed of for a plantation;" and upon proof of ownership, not put off their own hunting grounds and fishing places. This was the letter of the law, but, as a rule, it was a law not in force.

If we put ourselves in their times and places, we can see, as we have seen from 1633 to 1885, the need of speedy and more decent legislation. "In all my practice at the bar," said old John Adams, "I never knew a contested title but what was traced up to the Indian title." The right of Indian occupancy to Indian lands was never once disputed by Spanish, English, French, or other discoverers. More than one tribe of Indians then, and since, held to the original title, and it was to them a religious principle that to traffic in land was like dealing in human flesh. God, they said, had given them the land to live on, and no man could sell it. *

The son of the senior Adams, when discussing the opium trade with China in Congress, after he had been President, seemed to think, as too many do, that dealing with heathen men is more a question of power than a question of right, and some of our professed Christian philosophers have recited two famous resolutions with more reality in practice than humor of statement:

Resolved, first, that the world and the fullness thereof belongs to the saints.

Resolved, secondly, that we are the saints.

With some historical records and facts resting upon Indian life rights, and popular conduct, let me present the following conclusions:

That the entire history of this Government, as colonies, as the confederation of States, and as the union of States, proves that, in dealing with those who are called savages, where the greatest wrongs have been suggested, planned, or committed, the greatest offenders, as a rule, have been what are called civilized white men, communities and peoples of the old and new world. As a rule, also, let me show that kind and fair treatment have been rewarded by reciprocal acts of fidelity, kindness, and friendship.

First of all, in proof of this latter statement, I recall the visits of Father Hennepin, of the navigator Hudson, of Lewis and Clark among the Oregon Indians, of Carter, Catlin, and others. In all the remarkable hospitalities of the world, none have ever been more generous than the Indian tribes of the west and east to the missionaries, navigators, and discoverers of the old and new world.

Second. That the five Indian tribes, once known as the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, alike in their language, eloquence, commanding forms, independence of character, natural abilities, prowess in war, and strength in peace, demonstrated the original power of the Indian race. What they most needed in civilization and religion, in useful and skillful toil, they never found among either the English or Dutch companies abroad, nor, as a rule, among the emigrants from abroad. As proprietors, those who came—and those who sent them here—were persons who often robbed them of their lands, their liberties, their rights, substituting for these and like possessions jealousies, remorses, and hatred; while, as under Sir Walter Raleigh, Col. John Smith, Lords Delaware and Gates, William Penn, the Eliots, the Brainards, and others, there might have been mutual peace and prosperity.

The tribes once masters of the lands from Canada to the Mississippi were conquered rather by force than in a fair struggle to obtain supreme power.

The Six Nations are proof of this. They hated the French from the moment Champlain fired upon the Iroquois from the ranks of the Algonquins, who were their deadly foes. The conduct of the French was infamous. Under Sir William Johnson the Indians were as true to the English as they were hostile to the French and the colonists. The reason of this devotion rested upon the important fact that Johnson was neither treacherous nor hostile to the Six Nations. Faithful to old Sir William Johnson, they were loyal to his son, Sir Guy Johnson, who taught them after the English fashion of

* The very essence of what is called sovereignty has rested upon seizure, unsurpation, and force.

the time, and this teaching was that the colonial rebels would bring them into slavery, and make horses and oxen of their whole tribe.

The pride and hope of the famous Joseph Brandt, whose Indian name was Thayendanega (the iron-hearted Mohawk), was that of a man proud of his ancestry. He loved the land of his fathers. His proud words were, "The Six Nations have no dictator among the nations of the earth. We are not the wards of England; we are a free commonwealth."

In this spirit he fought the French, resisted the colonists, and allied himself and his tribe to the English because he found them friends. Sent by them to a charity school for two years, he became a convert to the education and to the Christianizing of the Indian race. His home at Canajoharie became an asylum for missionaries in the wilderness. "May we always be able to live as good subjects, fear God, and honor the king," was his answer to Dr. Wheelock, his colonial teacher, who tried in vain to win him to the American side. No wonder that the British officers at Lake George, at Niagara, and in all the contests on the Mohawk, declared Brandt to be indispensable to the suppression of the rebellion. In England he was called a true gentleman; but as an Indian chief, proud of his birth and race, he refused to kneel to the king or kiss his hand.

The peace of 1783 found him alone and forsaken among his enemies. He had fought with bloody hands and a most determined purpose. The English made no provision for his protection, none for his tribe, none for their lands; but true to his allegiance of sink or swim with the British, the Crown, in the course of time, gave his followers, the Mohawks and the rest of the Six Nations, six miles of land on each side of the Grand River, in Canada west. And just here, to show what a native American Indian could do on the right side, he erected the first church in Upper Canada, and, after three years begging from the Lord Bishop of London, secured a missionary of the Cross, who was ordained in Trinity Church in 1801, erected a school house and flour-mill, superintended the printing of the Gospel of St. Mark in the Indian tongue, became the civil governor of his people, the teacher of his people at home, the negotiator for peace and good will among the tribes everywhere, and all the time laboring for the honor and independence of the nation, of which he was the master chief and spirit.

Sir William Johnson knew how to win the support and friendship of the red man, and as a consequence the tribe made him their sachem. He learned their language, wore in part their costume, and gave them teachers, schools, and missionaries. "I have in view," he said, "the welfare of the Indians at large * * * Nothing can contribute to their present and future happiness as habits of virtue and morality * * * effected by instruction, * * * and enforced by example." In the preface to the Mohawk Prayer Book (1787) we find this tribute to Brandt: "This is only one out of many instances of his unremitting attention to the welfare of the Indians, who love and respect him as their particular friend. * * * He deserves great commendation for thus employing his time and talents to promote the honor of God and the spiritual welfare of his people."

Of the lands and the Six Nations on the Grand Rapids, all that is left count about three thousand people, and these with land enough on the Grand Rapids for ten times their present number.

Third. The landing of the Ark and Dove, the two vessels which bore the followers of Leonard Calvert to the colony of Maryland, and the charter of Lord Baltimore, which tolerated and encouraged freedom of conscience and freedom of political and religious faith, making the people independent of the Crown, and on this basis of common sense and common integrity purchasing and paying for land bought from the Indians, secured not only present friendly relations between the nations and the colony, but their promises of perpetual amity. The Indian women taught their strange visitors how to make bread of maize, and their chiefs and huntsmen where to find the best game of the forest.

In the same spirit, more than once, and two hundred and fifty years gone by in the wilderness, and sometimes in the winters of New England, the Indians gave their corn to save the white people from actual starvation.

Fourth. In a conference called as this is, to protect the interests and character of the Indian race, it is proper to recall whatever occurred in the past to prove their friendly purposes and conduct. In this spirit we remind our countrymen of the brave, bold, and noble Miantanomah as the friend of the pure, true, and self-denying man Roger Williams. Banished from house and kindred, the chief of the Narragansetts received him as he came solitary and alone upon an errand of mercy to save the lives of his white persecutors. He found the Pequod chiefs in counsel with the Narragansetts, urging the latter to join them in the instant destruction of the Puritans, who had invaded their homes.

Roger Williams owed shelter, home, country, and life itself not alone to Miantanomoh, but to Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags, and to Canonicus, the aged chief of the Narragansetts. They freely tendered him the land where he had chosen his place of rest as a home, and with it fellowship and perpetual peace. When the

Pequod chiefs in council raised their tomahawks to strike him dead, without fear and without shame Williams claimed the protection due to a stranger, and Miantanomah at once gave and pledged the hospitality of himself and his tribe. For three days this banished Christian man pleaded, and in the end successfully, for the very enemies who had made him an exile. A year later, 1637, the Pequods found the Narragansetts their enemies, and in the first real Indian war the whole tribe of Pequods were exterminated.

Fifth. That the continued invasions of the French, the Dutch, and the English upon Indian lands, and rights, and customs, compelled, in self-defence, the union of the Indian tribes against their intruders. The almost total extinction of the Pequods at the end of the Pequod war in 1637 caused the Narragansetts, and the Indians of the North and East generally, to believe that they read their own doom in the extinction of one of their great tribes. When the colonists combined against the Indians under Philip, Canonicus, the Indian father and ruler, was dead. Massasoit and Miantanomah, though faithful in their friendship, were now too feeble to save their tribes from what was then regarded as a life and death struggle against invasion and destruction. Where, under Lords Delaware and Gates, under Col. John Smith, William Penn, and others, the wise rule of the colonists had secured the good will of the Indians, that good will was now lost, and it is a part of our mission to revive and restore what was then lost, and, up to the present time, not yet found. The Indian, following the precedents I have cited, simply has no faith, judging from the past, in our covenants, compacts, treaties, or promises.

The chief sources of wrong among the pale faces were the acts of the white people. The stealing of Pocahontas, daughter of Powhatan, and the demand of a large ransom for her release, was the beginning of child stealing in America, while the conversion and marriage of this Indian girl to the missionary Rolfe is one of the grandest revelations of our early American history. All this came eight or nine years before the landing of the Pilgrims.

In 1619 it was enacted, in the first political assembly of Virginia, that "the most towardly boys in wit and graces of nature should be brought up in the first elements of literature, and sent from college to work for the conversion of the natives to the Christian religion." There were penalties for gaming, idleness, drunkenness, and even any excess in apparel in church was directly taxed.

Sixth. The bloodiest of all the Indian wars—the war of King Philip—presents in contrast these two pictures: On one side the white colonists, in possession of the old Indian hunting-grounds, their forests, their pastures, and fishing-grounds. All these, and the old cabins and old homes were now held and owned by those who had driven them away, sometimes by the purchase of their lands and sometimes by force and fraud.

Instead of the vast domain held years before, the allied tribes were now crowded into narrow necks and tongues of land. Almost literally, even then, they were driven toward the sea, and when upon its borders were told they had consented and contracted to forsake the broad lands of their forefathers. Even more than this, since in 1703 the government of Massachusetts paid £12 for every Indian scalp, in 1722, £100, and in 1774 the colonial legislature passed a law giving a reward for Indian scalps. The French and English were the first to begin this kind of warfare.

The white men fought and conquered, and killed, in the name of God and the church, one thousand Indians in a single battle, and the Indians, in turn, scalped or killed white men, women, and often children within their reach, and burned almost every dwelling to which they could apply the torch.

The Narragansetts finally met the fate of the Pequods. Philip preferred death to submission, and as his wife and son were borne away as prisoners, his words were, "My heart breaks; I am ready to die." It was Captain Church who struck off the head of the conquered chief, literally burying his body as so much carrion; and Philip's son was sold as a slave and sent to the island of Bermuda.

The Narragansetts, now crowded from their homes, simply preferred death to conquest, and these are the two chief pictures of King Philip's war. Let the Judge of all the Earth say in all these contests who were right and who were wrong. If in our time it is destiny to see the Indians gradually disappear from the face of the earth, it is at least manly and merciful for the Government and people to give them a decent and comfortable life while they live, and in the end a Christian burial.

Seventh. That William Penn's first and second treaty with the Indians proves to governments and peoples the possibility and policy of peace, honor, and prosperity between the two races. "We meet," said the good Quaker king, under a large elm, which was blown down in 1810, on the banks of the Delaware, November, 1682, to the delegation of Indians assembled there to receive him, "We meet on the broad pathway of good faith and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love." And the chiefs of the tribes as they held their wampum-belt, called him Miquon, or elder brother, and answered, "We will live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the moon and sun shall endure or the river

flow with water." And this treaty of peace, made by one who spoke only in the name of the Prince of Peace, and extending over all the land between the Delaware and Potomac, was never broken, and not one drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian. The heart of the Indian was as warm and his head as clear as the heart or head of any white man in the colonies which gave birth and life to the Government. It is enough to say that the peaceful treaty of Penn on the Delaware followed the bloody extermination of the Pequods and Narragansetts in New England.

In the next century of the nation, 1796, history repeated itself by making war upon "the friendly Delawares," who had been, from the date of the treaty with Penn, as faithful to the white man as the white man, when he desired his lands, became false to him. "The money you offer us," they said, "give to the poor whites who have encroached upon our lands; money is to us of no value, and, to most of us, unknown. No consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands upon which we get sustenance for our women and children."

Eighth. Then, in sad contrast, came the Virginia massacre of 1622, four years after the death of Powhatan, as after the death of the father of the Narragansetts in the person of Canonicus came the massacre in New England. The younger brother of the former, like the son of the latter, could not pardon the constant encroachments of the strangers from the Old World. There was no mercy at Jamestown, on the Potomac, nor on the James River, as there was none in Massachusetts Bay and the province of Rhode Island in the wars of Philip and the Pequods. In both extremes the blood of the slain was first the seed of banishment and then almost of extermination.

It needs not the memory of the charming young daughter of Powhatan, springing between the tomahawk raised to strike John Smith dead, her head almost resting upon the breast of the white man whose life she had saved, nor the gift of baskets of corn which followed to feed him and his countrymen, to prove the courage, the generosity, and the kindness of men and women of Indian blood.

In wide contrast, we may recite the conduct of George III in England, ordering the chiefs of his army to arm savage men to war upon Americans, and the bloody work inspired by the Johnsons in New York, on the Mohawk and elsewhere, to decoy and kill white men and families born upon the same soil where the Johnsons had made their homes as citizens of the New World.

Ninth. The destruction of Wyoming Valley, in 1777, was after the manner of the bloody work of the British Tories, led by Col. John Butler, with his Tory Rangers, Royal Greens, and seven hundred Indians of the tribes known as the Six Nations. British gifts, in gold and valuables, promises without number, performances in almost boundless hospitality, suggested and encouraged these fearful tragedies. The cool-headed Sir William Johnson led first to a deliberately and stealthily advised invasion, and then came the remorseless murders of helpless women and children. No darker tragedies occurred during or before the War of the Revolution. It was the policy and practice of the British King and ministry to terrify the colonies, and this policy was persisted in to the end of the war. Not even the massacre at Cawnpore was as terrible as the slaughter at Wyoming. The Indians in time were terribly punished. Forty of their villages were burned, and the British leaders who led the way to death were soon defeated in battle and disgraced throughout the civilized world. Men, no more than children, can play with fire.

Tenth. The massacre of Miss McCrea at Fort Edward by two Indian scouts—one party quarreling with the other, though both were sent by the British officer and lover upon the same mission, which was to give safe convoy to the betrothed maid, taught the enemy that Indian allies might be as dangerous to friends as to foes. The Chippewas, Ottawas, Delawares, Senecas, Shawnees, Wyandottes, all now and then participated in this kind of double warfare. Burgoyne at the North, and Lord Howe at the South, were only too willing to encourage and to prosecute just this kind of savage strife.

The teaching of bloody instructions, in Indian as in civilized life, experience too soon taught, only returns to plague the inventors. In the second war for independence, the crimes committed on the Mohawk and Wyoming were repeated. In the contest between the British commander, Colonel Proctor, and the American general, Winchester, the latter was taken prisoner. Terrified by Proctor's threat that his Indian allies would again be permitted to repeat their old-time massacres upon the frontier people, and having the assurance that if his little army would yield the frontier people should be protected, the surrender was made. As the result of this still living lie five hundred Americans were struck down by the tomahawk. Most of them came from the State known everywhere as "the dark and bloody ground of Kentucky." Then, and finally, came the battle of October, 1813, known as the battle of the Thames. The Americans were led by General Harrison, later on President of the United States, and one-half of the British army were Indians. The dreaded Indian chief, Tecumseh, was then a full general in the British forces. He was in their ranks, and in the battle of the Thames in the very center of the army, and there in full command. The time had now come for Kentuckians to be avenged for the slaughter

of five hundred of her sons, most of them young men and struck down under the order of Colonel Proctor. You know the story; it was Richard M. Johnson who pushed his men upon the very center of the forces where Tecumseh led the way. It was not long before the chief fell dead at the feet of the Kentuckian, and thus the lives so treacherously taken were more than avenged. For two and a half centuries, from time to time, massacre, vengeance, and injustice have often cursed the two races of the American people.

The possible industry of the Indian race, under proper direction, has been a thousand times proved in the past and present century. Upon the evidence of Hudson, in 1609, along the river which bears his name, of General Wayne, in 1794, along the Miami, the Lake, and the Genesee, where miles of land were found in cultivation, the crops destroyed by fire were twice replanted the same year, in 1795. The widespread crops of the Delawares, after they had been once again cut down and the Indians driven from their homes, and by whom the beaver, buffalo and other game were caught upon the Rocky Mountains and elsewhere and sold to the white men, and the evidences in almost every Indian report, special and official, for two hundred and fifty years, prove these two facts: First, then, as with the Shawnees, Delawares, and since with other tribes, that they were robbed by civilized men and made drunk by them, and ruined in mind, body, and estate by the whisky forced upon them by so-called civilized men. The profits of the wages they earned upon their lands, the money paid to them for game they caught in their forests, the payments they received for lands taken from them by the Government; in a word, the general fruits of their labor have been dispersed not so much from the hand of knowledge, thrift, and industry as from the fruits of the old time and new time plunder, deception, and violence of their white neighbors.

The first European interview with the American Indians, of which we have any record, was upon the banks of the Hudson. The name of the river was in honor of the discoverer, who starting from the Old World eleven years and two months before the embarkation of the Pilgrims, entered Sandy Hook just where the Mayflower later on was directed to sail. The Half Moon, a little yacht of 80 tons, passed Newfoundland, Cape Cod, Jamestown, and the Highlands just two hundred and eighty-four years ago, and in the month of September, from the hill tops, and almost in sight of the Hudson, the strange comers were welcomed as "visitors from the Great Spirit." "Behold," said they, one to another, "the gods have come to visit us." The Indians of the river met them in throngs, received them as guests, gave them of their maize and beans and fish and game; and where the city of Hudson now is, they tendered them more than a royal welcome. The harvest was over, and at least three ship loads of the corn and beans were gathered in, piled up in pyramids, and for protection covered in a building made of oak bark. The feast was as generous as mind and heart could desire, and when the commander of the Half Moon took leave of his hosts and left his anchorage opposite the Kaatskills on the bosom of the Hudson, these so-called savages broke their arrows into pieces as a pledge and symbol of perpetual peace.

This, as far as is recorded, was the first visit in state of the white men to the red men of the forest, and it was a visit almost within gun shot of the spot where I speak. Of what followed in part I have spoken.

The past is beyond recall. The present under Providence is within human control, and ought to be, may I not say will be, wisely directed.

Congress has expended between $500,000,000 and $600,000,000 nominally for the Indians and wasted thousands of lives. Where ten white men in Indian wars have been killed, to avenge these ten lives twenty for one have been taken. Arms and money have been almost the only two weapons of conciliation hitherto used by the Government and its responsible representatives.

With proper training for citizenship from the beginning, one-half of this money and four-fifths of the lives sacrificed might have been saved. We have made paupers where we might have made citizens. The Indian has no place in the Federal Constitution, none of Federal force in the constitutions of the States, and only a place of degradation in the general laws and legislation of the country. The truest native American of all has a place not in the rear only, but under the feet, or beyond the reach of the meanest and worst African, European, or Asiatic, the Chinese in part excepted. For him there is no appeal to the law of the land, or of force or legal form even in the law which belongs to mercy and humanity. The criminal in and out of prison and the pauper in the poor house remains an American citizen, and thousands of these even with no birthright are made free by the law of the land. The American people need but to see and feel this injustice of man to man to change it at once, and forever. He is a freeman.

INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.

Following Mr. Brooks, the remainder of the evening was occupied by the Rev. H. O. Ladd, president of the University of New Mexico at Santa Fé, and by R. W. D. Bryan,

principal of Albuquerque Indian School, New Mexico. The former spoke especially of the Pueblo Indians around Santa Fé, and the latter of the Pueblos and Navajos, giving many interesting facts to demonstrate their present advancement and their capability for development.

SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION.

At the opening of the morning session Dr. Rhoads, for the business committee, submitted a statement of principles as a basis for discussion. [As finally modified and adopted by the conference the statement will be found in full in the report of Friday morning's session.]

The discussion of the morning was devoted (1) to the question of citizenship, whether it should be immediate or gradual; (2) to the meaning of the word "absorption" or "intermingling," and (3) to the question of treaty-keeping where the treaties are of detriment to the best interests of the Indians.

Dr. RHOADS. "The business committee, in presenting some propositions for the consideration of this conference, wish to emphasize their conviction of the great importance of unanimity on the part of the conference and of the friends of the Indian, both as to the principles which should guide their action and as to methods, so far as possible. In the first place, there are two classes of agencies acting for the benefit of the Indian. The first and great one is the Government of the United States; and it is of serious moment that this conference, as representing the friends of the Indian, shall do all in its power to strengthen the hands of the President, the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and other officers engaged in Indian management. They must have perplexities and difficulties greater than we can understand, and they need to feel that we stand in no attitude of criticism, but in one of earnest helpfulness, in which we bid them God speed. Moreover, we must bear with their limitations, for the wisest must have these. We must pass by what may sometimes seem to us unwise, and give them our hearty support; and only when we think they are making some positive mistake as to principle or method, should we express our views to the contrary. In presenting these propositions, it is with confidence that the conference will discuss them with entire freedom. This report is not what is to go before the public, but is to be discussed here, then sent to the committee, and finally, go out to the country as the voice of the conference."

General ARMSTRONG spoke adversely to the immediate granting of citizenship, except to those tribes which are fitted for it. He had no prejudices against the mingling of the races. The process is going on all the time, and will ultimately result in absorption. The total number of Indians, so called, is increasing, while the number of pure-bloods is diminishing. He was earnestly in favor of educating the Indian, placing him upon land of his own, giving him all he can possibly use, and then selling the rest to Government and funding the proceeds, to be used for his permanent benefit and advancement. As to the changing of treaties, the proposition does not imply any breach of faith. It contemplates changes by negotiation, by securing the red man's consent. It is in accord with the spirit of the Coke bill and the Dawes bill, which bills also favor immediate action in allotting lands in severalty. He was utterly opposed to any arrangement which would allow the Indians to huddle together, if they want to, like the Onondagas of New York, holding their lands forever to the exclusion of civilizing influences. That was the way to fasten barbarism upon them in perpetuity. The resolutions contemplated a possible contingency which it was hoped would never arise, namely, failure to secure Indian consent to needed treaty changes.

"The contingency which is possible is embodied in this resolution: 'Every reasonable effort to get the consent of the Indian, but if the consent of a tribe cannot be obtained, then its execution without their consent.' It means that if the Indians refuse all overtures in meeting the inevitable growth of our country and the advance of civilization, then going to their reservations and taking such lands as we find unoccupied, giving them a full value therefor. It means that, at the rate civilization is advancing, with its ragged, rough edge, where it finds resources which nobody is developing, then it develops them; where it finds industrious people it incorporates them. If you think there is any harshness in this, remember that it is done with a feeling that we must save them from themselves. If it were not for this imminent, terrible fact, that things cannot stay as they are, it would not be so. It is the spirit of the country, of its inevitable growth.

"Now comes the question if the Indians choose, in their ignorance, not to accept our terms, shall they be ground up? Shall they become vagabonds on the face of the earth?

"The seventh resolution is: 'If there are wild tribes absolutely incapable of being brought into harmony with civilization, then placing them under such guard as will prevent Indian outbreaks.' That simply means that, if the Indians break loose from

civil restraint and all the ordinary care, such as Indian police, take the war-path, and fight, then give them over to the national police. There are two kinds of police for the Indians—the Indian police and the national arm. Out of the whole 262,000 Indians, there are about 3,000 who need the national police. Take the Navajos; possibly there are nineteen out of twenty who are to-day controlled by Indian police. Something ought to be said about this Indian police; they are a great success. We don't want the military in their place. At Standing Rock, at Rosebud, and at Pine Ridge the Indians are governing themselves. They are their own officers, and there is nothing like it; it builds up their manhood. When they break out, then we want the national police. We have no better men than Generals Crook and Miles, no better educated Christian men for police work with the Indians when the Regular Army is called upon. I challenge any one to do better civilizing work.

"Eighth resolution: Maintenance of Indian agencies, or some equivalent representatives of the United States Government, to look after the Indians' interest, &c. If the Indians are left without any protection they are exposed to various evils. Rum is their greatest enemy. In any case, if put on lands of their own, they would need the care of good men. I have visited nearly every important agency this side of the Rocky Mountains, and cannot but feel that they need good men to look after them.

"Ninth resolution: Lands in severalty. In regard to that resolution, I can only express once more my heartiest indorsement of it, as being the best way for working out the whole problem. This approves the Coke bill; if, however, the patents in the Coke bill shall give the Indians the permanent right to remain in their old possessions, I should have my doubts on this point.

"The tenth: Placing Indian children in industrial schools. That needs no discussion. It is pushing the present system; appropriations that would supply every government school with a complete outfit for industrial training, which will require much more than is being done now. The Government has provided twenty-five assistant farmers; there should be two or three times that number. If good farmers were provided they would teach this work at the agencies; they would teach the tribes how to irrigate their lands, and take care of the water, particularly in a country where they are liable to the loss of everything by the tapping of the water. Perhaps one farmer to every one hundred families would answer. About half the men now engaged as farmers are not fit for the work; they are not farmers; they should be competent men."

Professor. PAINTER. "I wish Dr. Abbott, or somebody else, would lead off in a discussion of the main issue. It is simply a question of whether we shall begin the work of civilizing the Indian and end this problem, or whether we shall perpetuate the present state of things. I think there is no question but that the reservation system—the system of isolation and non-absorption—has held the Indian aloof from our civilization and denied him the opportunities of a citizen and a man. This process continued indefinitely will continue the problem. The difficulties of this reservation system are immense; it is an incubus upon every effort for the advancement of the Indian. The simple proposition of the committee I think is this: Are we still to continue the present state of things, or has the time come to consider the uprooting of this whole evil and the system which perpetuates it? I maintain that the problem with which we are to deal has grown out of our wrong policy. In regard to the immediateness of citizenship, I have always believed that certain qualifications were necessary for the discharge of the duties of citizenship, but inasmuch as we have required no such qualifications on the part of many whom we have taken into our body politic, and to whom we have given the opportunities of citizenship by the million, I have no particular objection to extend the ballot to such Indians as you can chase down, lasso, and bring to the polls. I do not think that fifty thousand Indians, scattered over the country, armed with the ballot would create any great damage to our institutions, and I think it would be some protection to the Indian in his own neighborhood. I believe if a man is in the water that we should take him out, and do it immediately.

"The point in regard to which we are likely to differ will be as to whether this shall be done where a treaty stands in the way, and the Indian will not consent to a modification of that treaty. If forced to face this, we should consider under what circumstances many of these treaties were made, and the purpose for which they were made, and the manner in which they were made. I don't know in regard to all of them, but I do know how we attempted to secure a modification of a treaty recently with the Sioux, and how that modification would undoubtedly have been ratified by Congress had it not been defeated by the Indian Rights Association. The question is whether a treaty which has been negotiated in such a way as to be hurtful to the Indian shall be regarded as sacred and remain a bar to his progress. We sent out a commission a short time ago to secure a modification of a treaty. I went to those Indians to see how it had been done, for it was claimed that they had given their consent. I asked them if they did so and so, and if they consented? They said no; they were not willing to do so. 'Did they make any other proposition?' 'Yes.' 'Did you accept?' 'No.' 'Did you sign this agreement?' 'Yes.' 'What was promised

you?' 'It was not what they promised us that made us sign it, but what they threatened to do to us. They threatened to cut off our annuities under the old treaties and to remove us to the Indian Territory. They told us this would be done, and we, fearing we should have no more homes, no more land, and no more annuities, signed it.' They had been kept about the agency for two weeks in terribly cold weather, and their signatures, obtained under threats, would have been regarded as evidence of a treaty by which millions of acres would have been taken from them. We sent out to the Bitter Root Valley to enforce a treaty with Charlos, which he said he never signed. Mr. Vest said, 'You have signed a treaty, and you must keep it and leave this valley.' This Charlos denied, and would not remove. The treaty had been published with his name attached, but when the original treaty was unearthed from the archives at Washington, we found Charlos's name was not on it. Take the case of Joseph's band of Nez Percés Indians as another illustration of my point. The Nez Percés were living in the beautiful Walla Walla Valley, which had always been their home. We wanted it. After much crowding we were able to negotiate a treaty for its surrender. We made a treaty which gave them a reservation in Idaho, and to the father of Joseph and his band, the Wallula Valley in Washington Territory. Soon the pressure was great that he should surrender this also and join his people at Lapwai. He refused, and after his death Joseph refused also. We then went to the Indians at Lapwai and made an agreement with them that Joseph should cede his lands. The enforcement of this arrangement made with a third party, who had no right in the premises, was the cause of the Nez Percés war. In violation of the terms on which we accepted his surrender, we sent him to the Indian Territory, where for ten years or more we have supported at an annual expense of $20,000 a people who only asked to be allowed to support themselves on their own lands. Congress yielded to the pressure of public opinion, and consented this spring to take back the feeble remnant which has survived, and now they have reached the neighborhood of their old home where no lands have, as yet, been assigned them, and too late to raise anything for their own support, and are informed by the Department that as they have been taken back at their own request, the Government has no further responsibility regarding them. They have been generously furnished one-eighth rations for the current year.

"I could illustrate by many other cases the sacred character of our so-called treaties with Indians; many so-called treaties were made in this way. When we have wanted anything for the white man which the treaty secured to the Indians, we have said, 'The Indian is our ward, and we must do what we think is best for him.' We have enacted laws for his control which we never would have done for a foreign people with whom we made treaties; but our treaties have not stood in the way when we have found it for the advantage of the white man to disregard its obligations; and when it suits our convenience to do so, we say it is a solemn treaty which we must not break. If we had made a treaty with the Indian that he might have unlimited whisky in exchange for land, and the Indian refused to modify the treaty, most of us would say that we must not do him a great wrong even if we had bound ourselves by such a treaty to do it. I wish to call attention again to the fact that the business committee has not offered resolutions to be voted upon. It has simply offered propositions to be discussed, hoping to get the range of your guns, and that the subject matter of discussion will be referred to this, or some other committee, to be offered subsequently in the form of resolutions for adoption."

Judge STRONG. "I take great interest in what this conference is intending to do. I feel the necessity of much that is proposed, and it has my hearty assent. I am desirous to promote the Christianization and civilization of all the Indians in this country, and I am one of those who think it desirable that the Indians should be dispersed or diffused throughout our population; that they should not be preserved on reservations, if it is possible to avoid it; that they should not be encouraged to live in bodies; that they should not maintain their own language and habits, but be brought into contact with the better portion of our communities scattered throughout the land, where they might be brought under good influences, and ultimately be Americanized. I would not desire to see a great body of Irishmen herded together, but scattered throughout the country; and it is the same with the Indian. We know how we suffered in Pennsylvania by the Germans living together, speaking their own language and reading their own books for seventy-five years, being a distinct people in the center of Pennsylvania. They suffered, and the State also. But we have all discovered that, when an Irishman comes and settles here, and another there, they soon become good Americans. If the Indians could be scattered, with a farm here and a farm there, it would be the speediest mode of civilizing them and making them useful citizens, but this thing must be done honestly. I do not believe in doing evil that good may come. This thing must be done consistently with the solemn obligations of the Government. We began by making treaties with these Indian tribes; we treated them as independent tribes. It was a little absurd; it was within our borders a little *imperium in imperio*. But we did not recognize them as independent.

We said to them, 'You may occupy these lands, but you can't sell them to anybody but the United States. We have a right to take these lands when you abandon them. We give them to you as a tribe.' Thus have we made scores of treaties with the Indians; they were solemn obligations. We said solemnly we would keep those treaties. Now it was said by the last speaker that in many of these treaties we cheated the Indians. We did, undoubtedly, get much more from them than they from us, but the treaties gave something to them. Now, are we to set aside those treaties because we cheated? The Indians have certain securities to the possession of their lands. Now, admitting that we have treated them unfairly, is it our part to say, 'We treated you unfairly; therefore, we will take away what we gave you?' No; Mr. Chairman, we have done many things, of which we ought to repent, but let us not violate the treaties we have made. Why, sir, a treaty is the most solemn obligation into which a Government can enter, a *casus belli*. War cannot occur between the United States and these tribes, for they are too feeble. Can we stand in the face of a Christian community, and say we will disregard these treaties with these feeble, dying tribes? No, sir; the friends of the Indian cannot afford to have it go out to the country that this conference disregards these treaties. Ah; but one of these resolutions says, if you cannot get the consent of the Indian to the modification of these treaties, then you must annul them, but give an equivalent. Can you treat a neighbor in this way? I will not perform what I have promised, but I will give an equivalent. Who is to measure the equivalent? The United States is to measure what the equivalent shall be, when they take away these lands of the Indians and devote them to some other purpose than that of the treaty. No, sir; I will never consent to any such thing as to say that they shall be altered by force. But I do believe it is possible to obtain from the Indians a modification or annulment of these treaties. In many cases the Indians have made some advance towards civilization; they want their lands in severalty, all being the several owners of lands. Now, let the Government go to those Indians and say, 'We will give you lands in severalty if you will give up that treaty, and, if necessary, we will give you an outfit for engaging in agriculture.' How many Indian families are there? About 50,000. Suppose we give 160 acres to a family, and I must say I am opposed to giving to the husband a certain quantity, and to the wife a certain quantity, and to the child another. I want the Indians brought together in families. There can never be any civilization without families. I would have the head of the family have the land, and have it descend to his wife and children. I believe it possible for the Indian tribes to obtain a revocation or a modification of those treaties, so that they shall not stand in the way of distributing their lands in severalty. I believe many Indian tribes are in a condition to receive lands in severalty, and that it would stimulate their ambition and lead to habits of acquisitiveness, which is important to them. If they could be kept away from the whisky shops, they would begin to accumulate property, and to that extent I am in favor of these resolutions. I am not in favor of admitting to citizenship any persons—certainly, no Indians—to whom lands have not been allotted in severalty; otherwise it would be worthless to the Indian and injurious to the white people of the country. I cannot, therefore, vote for the first resolution. The immediate admission of the Indians to all the rights of citizenship, including suffrage, I cannot agree to that. I am in favor of their being admitted to citizenship as rapidly as there is any degree of fitness for it. I believe all those Indians, who have lands in severalty, ought to be admitted to citizenship; but whether to admit them to the suffrage is another question. I am greatly in favor of education. Suffrage is not an indispensable requisite to citizenship. I agree that all the lands of the reservations, so far as the treaties will allow, should be sold. I do not know about the appraised value. Who is to appraise it? The United States? I am inclined to think that it would be no more than fair to the Indian to appraise it at the value at which the United States sold its own domains, $1.25 an acre. Then the proceeds should be set apart for the benefit of the Indians. I do not know enough about Indian agencies to give an opinion, but I am in favor of the most rapid education of the Indian possible. They should have industrial education, and no place is better for that than the Carlisle and Hampton schools, both of which I have some knowledge of. If we could take these 50,000 Indian children, and put them in schools at an expense of some millions of dollars to the United States, teaching them the trades and employments of civilized life, and then send them back to their homes, the Indian problem would be solved. In ten years the parents would have passed away, the greater part of them, and a new race would come up. I long to see that, sir. I want to see this Government spend not only all it has agreed to, but millions more, so that these wards of the nation may have a fair opportunity to become useful American citizens. We cannot afford to take a dishonest course."

On motion of General Whittlesey, the preamble and resolutions were recommitted, and Justice Strong, Dr. William H. Ward, Hon. Erastus Brooks, and Miss Alice C. Fletcher were added to the business commitee.

Recess till evening.

SECOND DAY—EVENING SESSION.

Senator Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts, was introduced at the evening session, and spoke as follows:

SENATOR DAWES'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: I did not know that I could better acknowledge on behalf of those on whom legislation for the Indian has devolved their indebtedness to this association and to the kindred associations throughout the land that have stimulated, if not inaugurated, the policy by which that legislation is controlled at the present time than by making the endeavor—for I know I shall fail to carry it out completely—to present to you what has already been accomplished by the new policy with reference to the Indian. And I shall equally fail if I undertake to tell you what is necessary to be done hereafter. But so far as I can I will endeavor to answer both these propositions.

This policy is a new one. It is but a few years old, at best. Up to that time it was the study of the Government, as well as of philanthropists and others, to discover the best way to solve this Indian problem. Various methods have been tried in the past, some of them prompted by the best of feelings towards an unfortunate race that people believed was fading out, and would soon pass out of sight and memory in this country forever; and some were hastening on, or endeavoring to hasten on, what they supposed was the inevitable, and thought the sooner it was accomplished the better. Those who controlled the Government tried every method to get rid of the burden of the Indian. We broke our treaties with him and drove him out of his reservations; we hunted him with our arms; we spent millions of dollars in endeavoring to slay him, but all in vain. He kept on increasing in this land. He kept upon us the burden we could not relieve ourselves of; and he way constantly in the way. Like the negro, he was always present. And it only came to appear to this people seven or eight years ago that it was utterly in vain to attempt to get clear of the Indian, and that we had better see if we could not make something of him. So the division line between the present policy and the past is drawn here; in the past the Government tried, by fair means or foul, to rid itself of the Indian. The present policy is to make something of him.

That policy had its origin almost in an accident. Eight or nine years ago the Government sent Captain Pratt with warriors, covered with the blood of a merciless war, from the Indian Territory down to Florida; and Captain Pratt, in the discharge of his duty, undertook to relieve himself of the labor of keeping these warriors in idleness, no matter if the work was of no service to anybody, if it would keep them out of idleness. With this end in view he got permission to let them pick stones out of the streets. Then he enlisted ladies to teach them to read. Out of that experiment of Captain Pratt's has come all the rest. Behold what a great fire a little matter has kindled! After seeing the success of that small beginning he begged the friends at Washington to take these young warriors to General Armstrong's school at Hampton. General Armstrong was carrying on a school for freedmen exclusively. It was a long time before the War Department would consent to take them there. He took them there by the help of General Armstrong, and they made just so many men out of those bloody warriors. Captain Pratt told me that all but one of those prisoners of war were now honest, industrious, honorable, and respected citizens of the United States, earning their livelihood and exerting a good influence. Then came Carlisle; and then came the mixture of Indians with the freedmen at General Armstrong's school; and then came all the other training schools. Then came, also, eighty boarding-schools, and while before that day comparatively little was done for the education of the young Indian, Government last year appropriated $1,100,000 for the purpose, and more than fifteen thousand Indian children were attending school. The training-schools have turned out goods to be sold in the markets, and to furnish the reservations with shoes, tin-ware, wagons, harness, &c., and more than all that, they have turned out well-trained young men, who have gone out to seek opportunities for usefulness to their tribe. We have undertaken, also, by appropriations to teach them farming. We have appropriated money for assistant farmers to go and stand by each one of those Indians the moment he desires to take up land in severalty. Under this new policy Miss Fletcher has been inspired to go to Washington and prepare a bill, under which every one of the Omaha tribe has been set up in severalty, on a home of his own, maintaining himself and family, and furnishing the fruits of his industry for the markets of Omaha, and all the remainder of the Omaha Reservation has been sold and the proceeds put at interest for their benefit. A single agent, under the inspiration of this new policy, up at the Devil's Lake Agency in Dakota, has put every one of his Indians on farms of their own, where they raised last year 18,000 bushels of wheat and all the produce necessary for their own support. After accomplishing this, this agent went down to Standing Rock, where there are 35,000 Indians, including

Sitting Bull, and under the inspiration of this same policy he put one-third of them upon farms. Let him alone two or three years longer and three-fourths of these Indians, who ten years ago were wild Indians, will be farmers, maintaining themselves by their own hands. No one can read the letters Miss Ludlow is publishing in the Boston Journal without becoming enthusiastic in this work; without feeling that this work is one in which he can afford to spend his strength, and to which, as the gentleman said last night, he can well consecrate himself.

To my mind there is enough in it now and here, this very hour, without troubling ourselves with speculations as to plans for the future. I want to see this policy as it is pushed to its utmost, and to have every new element and device brought into its work in the school, in the family, on the reservation, in the agency, and everywhere; everything that will contribute to the carrying out of this policy which takes the individual Indian and treats him as a man, and tries to build him up and make something of him, and recognizes the fact that he is a child and must be taught everything a child is taught, to say nothing of that of which he must be unlearned. The Indian has grown up under the old policy of the Government in ignorance of what he was made for, or what he is capable of being, and the idea that you can by enactment set him upon his feet and bid him walk is, to my mind, futile and absurd. Along with this policy, and as a part of it, we have a great many schemes of good, honest people, desirous of contributing to the same ends; but they sometimes perplex and embarrass. Take this idea of land in severalty. Two or three years ago the whole land was full of it. Everybody was saying, "All you will ever get out of it will be to give the Indian land in severalty, and then let him take care of himself." My friend Whittlesey will excuse me if I allude to what he said last night. He proposes to say to the Indian race "Root, hog, or die." There is a good deal of philosophy in that phrase, but it was not applied to a human being who has a soul, or who is capable of being made a human being. You did not apply it to the freedman when you knocked off his shackles.

General WHITTLESEY. I did not use that language; I quoted St. Paul.

Mr. DAWES. If St. Paul was here and had 250,000 Indians on his hands, whom the United States had sought for one hundred years to rob of every means of obtaining a livelihood, and had helped bring up in ignorance, he never would have said to them "He that will not work, shall not eat." You did not say that to the poor black man; you did not say that to the little children whom you sent by contribution out into the country for fresh air, and you ought not to say it to this poor helpless race, helpless in their ignorance, and ignorant because we have fostered their ignorance. We have appropriated more money to keep them in absolute darkness, and heathenism, and idleness, than would have been required to send every one of them to college, and now we propose to turn them out. We did not relieve ourselves of the responsibility by that indifference; we have got to take them by the hand like little children and bring them up out of this ignorance, for they multiply upon our hands, and their heritage is being wrenched away from them, and good men as well as bad are devising means to take it away.

What is to become of them then? Have we done our duty to this people when we have said to them: "We will scatter you and let you become isolated and vagabonds on the earth, and then we will apply to you the philosophic command, 'Go, take care of yourselves; we have every dollar of your possessions, every acre of your heritage; we have killed more of your fellows than there are of you left; we have burnt your little homes, and now we have arrived at the conclusion that it is time to take away from you the last foot of ground upon which you can rest, and we shall have done our duty when we command you to take care of yourselves?'" That is not the way I read it; I know how sincere and honest, and probably as near right everybody else is, but I am only telling how I feel. I feel just this; that every dollar of money, and every hour of effort that can be applied to each individual Indian, day and night, in season and out of season, with patience and perseverance, with kindness and with charity, is not only due him in atonement for what we have inflicted upon him in the past, but is our own obligation towards him in order that we may not have him a vagabond and a pauper, without home or occupation among us in this land. One or the other is the alternative; he is to be a vagabond about our streets, begging from door to door, and plundering our citizens, or he is to be taken up and made a man among us; a citizen of this great republic, absorbed into the body politic and made a useful and influential citizen.

I have stated these things briefly, but cannot call to mind all the grand results we have accomplished under this policy; a policy that has stimulated us, created a new sentiment, and found its life and force among the good people of this country, and it has become necessary for us to find out how, by authority of law, this thing which I have said it is our duty to accomplish can be brought about.

It soon became evident that no one rule could be applied to all these Indians; that no one method could lift them all out of their degradation and darkness into light and manhood. That which would do for the strong and stalwart Indians in Dakota would

not do for the Pueblos in New Mexico; that which was the thing on the Omaha Reservation was the last thing to be done on the Navajo Reservation; that heroic treatment which was required by the warlike Crows in Montana was nothing but absolute cruelty when applied to the gentle Indians in Southern California, or the hard-working Indians in Northern California, so that one law and a uniform system is impossible. What will you do then? There is no authority of law existing now; somebody must be clothed with the authority of law to do with a tribe what its necessities demand. Is not that rational? If you clothe anybody with authority and then undertake to prescribe what he shall do, you block his work. It is impossible to do exactly with one Indian as you do with another, so legislators said that somebody must be authorized to do the work. To take this policy and carry it out somebody has got to be trusted. Of course, you are liable to trust a bad man, and that is a misfortune; but you are no more likely to trust a bad man than you are when you trust three hundred. You must take the risk. Out of this has come what is called the Coke bill. It has been a slow growth; the germ originated with Secretary Schurz and Senator Kirkwood. Then it came before the Committee of Indian Affairs in the Senate, and they worked a month or two upon it, and at last brought it before Congress, and it was debated three weeks. After that, and when it got much into the condition of your resolutions of this morning, it was recommitted to that committee, and they took it up, and debated, and amended, and out of that came the Coke bill as it is now, and every Senator voted for it. I do not claim any merit for my part in it, but seventy-five other and very respectable men took hold of it, and they believed, upon careful examination, and after every feature of it was explained, that it was the wisest measure they could devise. It is with some confidence, therefore, that I take up that bill to-night, with your permission and your patience, and try to tell you what it endeavors to do.

The purpose of the bill is to clothe the Secretary of the Interior with all the power he needs to do everything in respect to the Indian that every one of you said to-day he wanted to have done. It is, first, to put the Indian in severalty on a farm; next, after having done that, to sell all the rest of his reservation; next, to give him all the rights and privileges of any white man in the courts. When it was drawn, it was supposed he was a citizen, and if it is ever introduced again it will have a provision that makes him a citizen. It provides also, if any Indian does not want to stay on his reservation, that the Secretary of the Interior shall give him a farm somewhere else, wherever he, the Indian, may choose to select it on the public domain. I think that will scatter him as much as you wish, unless it is proposed to get a tribe together and then say "Scatter!" But if you intend to let an Indian select his own home, he can go anywhere on the public domain he wishes, and ask the Secretary of the Interior to give him one of these patents of 160 acres. He is obliged to give it to him, and that is not all; it looks out for him afterwards. It doesn't give him the deed, and say, "Go," and then allow a white man with a jug of whisky to come and take the land away from him, nor a hostile community to take it. It gives it in such a way that neither the United States nor he can part with it; that nobody can levy a tax, and no contract with respect to it shall be valid that is made before the end of twenty-five years. It goes on the theory that every Indian who is capable of knowing what a farm is, and what men do on a farm, and wants to do that himself, shall have a farm of 160 acres, and shall select it himself, and then the United States and he together shall hold the title, the United States holding it exclusively for him, if he happens to die before the twenty-five years. At that time it is presumed he will so understand himself and his farm, and his neighbors, that he can be trusted to sell it. Then the United States is to give him an absolute deed with the great seal on it, and it has got to be absolutely free at that moment. It must be in the beginning upon his reservation, because that belongs to him and it is a part of his heritage. It provides, however, for just the contingency suggested this morning—the desirability of getting these Indians spread out and brought into contact with civilization. Most kinds of civilization have a wonderful effect upon the Indian; I wish all civilization did. Again, under this bill, it must be the Indian's choice. It is now supposed that you can take an Indian against his will—by the nape of his neck, if I may say so—tell him to be a farmer and then go off and leave him, but you can't make anything of him under that process. An Indian will not make much of a farmer unless he can be inspired with a desire to be one, and unless you show him how. It is a work of time; I heard a proposition here this morning to abolish the reservations immediately; but the Coke bill does not go on that principle. It goes upon the principle that one of the difficulties of making a farmer out of the Indian is the uncertainty of his tenure to his land. You can make nothing out of the Indian unless you make a home for him. That is the starting point of civilization. Unless you can make him feel that his home is a permanent one, and take away that feeling of uncertainty about it—the feeling that the white man is liable at any time to come and take away his home—he will have no desire to improve it. But when he comes to understand that the first thing about

his home is that it is his absolutely and cannot be taken away, you have a basis upon which you can arouse in him a desire to make that home better than it is.

Now, I want to show you a feature of the bill which has struck some with alarm. There are three kinds of titles: First, a treaty title; second, a statute title; and third, a reservation under an Executive title. A statute title is one created by statute since we passed a law that there should be no more treaties made. It is another name for the treaty title. This bill provides that in all cases bands and tribes, either by virtue of treaty stipulations or by act of Congress, shall have this patent. It is confined to these two. The title by Executive order is not included here, because the title by Executive order is created by the President's will, and can be modified to-morrow or extinguished altogether. Therefore, the Indians have no interest in it, but the title by treaty and statute is a title by purchase. They have bought that land in every instance and they have paid for it. Every treaty title is a title in exchange for something else. Take the great Sioux Reservation, covered by the treaty of 1868. They bought this land, and the United States covenanted with them that they should occupy it forever. That made a title-deed as perfect as yours to your home, and if anybody should attempt to disturb them in it—if they were citizens so that they could go into court—they could hold it against the United States or anybody else. And the proposition to give a patent for that is only a proposition to exchange one title-deed for another. It is only to provide for what may happen hereafter, viz, when an Indian wants a piece of land in severalty he shall have a patent in severalty which shall supersede this. This patent has no other force than the matter of convenience. It does not alter the Indian's legal status one atom. He has a right to his deed, just the same as you have to yours, and to talk of taking that land from them without their consent for their good is the same as talking about taking away our neighbor's title to his home for his good. We may think it for his good, and doubtless it would be, but how would you like to have your town vote that it would be for your good to move somewhere else, and they take your home? It would be no different from this proposition. It might be for your good, but then it was your home.

Now, there is no bugbear in that patent; it is as innocent as a piece of paper. It goes upon the theory that all the tribes who hold reservations may own their land. It goes upon the idea that you can do the most good by keeping faith with the Indian. You can do nothing with him when he thinks you do not keep your word. You go to the Indians on the Sioux Reservation and say: "We propose to treat with you, and get your consent, if we can; but, if we cannot, we propose to go ahead just the same." That is like the Vicar of Wakefield's son, who went, with his father's horse, to the market to sell it, when asked his price, he said: "I ask $60 for him, if I can get it, but, if I can't get that, I will take $40." Have not we been asking to have these treaties kept ever since this new policy was born and nursed by that valiant and glorious band of women in Philadelphia, who went around the country obtaining signatures to petitions to Congress, calling upon Congress to keep its obligations to the Indians? That noble woman, Mrs. Quinton, came with a petition, upon which were 100,000 names, rolled up in the national colors as most fitting, and the first prayer was to observe these treaty obligations. She found members of both Houses to stand up with that magnificent petition and pledge themselves to maintain the treaty obligations of the United States. [Applause.] Of course, every other citizen is at liberty to do as he pleases, but those who committed themselves there, and have striven, in season and out, to maintain these treaty obligations, and protect the right of the Indian against the encroachments of those who make it a business to protect the treaties only so far as their own interests are concerned, cannot go back on themselves. They have no moral ground on which to stand but to keep their faith. It may cost something, but it is no credit to a man to keep a profitable bargain. It does not cost much to keep a contract when you make something by it. He alone is a man who keeps a contract to his cost. The Bible says that "He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not, shall be honored." Therefore, I beg of you, not to ask of these men in Congress, who stand before the country, committed, that they shall openly violate the solemn treaties they have made. This bill goes upon the theory that we are to work out this Indian problem by keeping our faith. Somebody said that, under this bill, it would be utterly impossible to distribute these Indians; they would have to be huddled together upon their reservation. If they want their lands in severalty upon their own reservation they must have it there, for you cannot force them. But, if they want it anywhere else, here is what the bill says about it. [Reads from Coke bill.]

Now can you devise any more efficient and practical way of diffusing him and scattering him? He can go anywhere he pleases upon lands unappropriated. And when he is prepared, when he understands what this means, when he desires to profit by it, and when he has the allotment made, what then? [Reads "Upon the completion of said allotment," &c., from Coke bill, *q. v.*]

General WHITTLESEY. Is not that citizenship?

Mr. DAWES. I will read what it shall be, when perfected. [Reads.] "All those who take these allotments are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States." [Applause.]

Now, if you can devise a broader provision; if you can suggest a better method, those who have charge of this bill will gladly accept the amendment. The bill is by no means a perfect one, but it is not much like what it was; it has been growing better and better, and I hope it will be a good deal better, for having been brought into this assembly. If any one can suggest any better way for the allotment of land in severalty which allows us to keep our honest faith, I wish he would suggest it. I have no pride in this matter. It so happens with me that the more I have to do with the Indian the greater become the perplexities, and the more distrustful I become of myself; and, therefore, in all sincerity, I beg of those interested, to improve that bill if they can. I will say that among the seventy-five other Senators who supported this bill were men who had spent a great deal of time upon the frontier among the Indians, and who knew their character and temptations. Some of these Senators were anything but friendly to this idea of ours, and yet they took up section after section of the bill, and they determined that, on the whole, it was the best thing to do, and they voted for it, every one of them. It meets their commendation as well as yours that the public sentiment which you have stimulated and directed may be turned to the benefit of that bill. It would have passed the House if it could have reached a vote. If it could have been in the hands of a sincere and earnest Secretary of the Interior, the Indian problem would have been so worked out that we should have seen the other side of the question. I am, myself, bound up in the success of some measure like that.

Now, that the Indian can be made something of, I want to tell you what I have seen during the last summer. I spent my vacation among the five civilized tribes, as they are called. It is within the memory of some of us here that these tribes were once wild blanket Indians in Georgia and Alabama; and the Rev. Mr. Worcester who was sent to teach them the Bible was sent to the penitentiary for doing so. The United States surrendered its power to Georgia, and, because Georgia undertook to crush them out, took them and planted them in the Indian Territory; and when Mr. Worcester got out of the penitentiary he followed them there. He had consecrated his life to educating these Indians. The United States gave them a patent to that land—an absolute deed. I have seen the original of it; it is just as perfect as any deed you ever held. They were, from that time, absolutely and permanently fixed there. By the help of Mr. Worcester, and those who helped him; they have wrought out a Government on their own soil without our help. The fundamental idea was that they stood upon their own land, and knew it could not be taken away from them. They have a principal chief and a written constitution, and a legislature elected once in four years; it is composed of a senate and house. They have a supreme court, a county court, and a school system of which compulsory education is a feature. It compels every child within school age to attend school, which is taught in the English language. They have a high school for girls and one for boys, in buildings that would be respectable in Massachusetts. In one of these buildings, close to Mr. Worcester's grave, I saw one hundred girls taught by Indian teachers, superintended by a white woman. I heard Indian girls recite to an Indian teacher in moral philosophy. I went a few miles away to a high school for boys, one class of which were laying out surveys, and it was beyond my comprehension whether they were good or bad; another class was reciting Latin; some of them are sent, at the expense of the Government, into the States for education. I once heard a Senator of the United States—and not a great while ago, and he was born in Massachusetts and educated there—I heard him in the Senate of the United States denounce this appropriation for Indian schools, declaring that there was not an instance of an Indian who had been educated and made to take care of himself. I heard Mr. Garrett, of Princeton, introduce that Senator to this high school and tell them that he was the silver-tongued orator of the United States. He told them of their possibilities and capacities, and how to work out their problem. I had a further satisfaction when we called a pure-blooded Indian before us, and he discoursed upon what had been done by their people. The same Senator asked him: "Where did you get your education?" "At Dartmouth College, sir." The head chief told us that there was not a family in that whole nation that had not a home of its own. There was not a pauper in that nation, and the nation did not owe a dollar. It built its own capitol, in which we had this examination, and it built its schools and its hospitals. Yet the defect of the system was apparent. They have got as far as they can go, because they own their land in common. It is Henry George's system, and under that there is no enterprise to make your home any better than that of your neighbors. There is no selfishness, which is at the bottom of civilization. Till this people will consent to give up their lands, and divide them among their citizens so that each can own the land he cultivates, they will not make much more progress. But there is another lesson; they are intensely afraid of the United States. They distrust this Government. They lean away

from us, although they are in our midst. Although they own territory, and have a population capable of becoming a State of this nation, instead of becoming part and lot with us, they are leaning away from us. Why? Those who want to take away the Indian's land without his consent can find a lesson in this. When we made our last treaty with them we provided that a railroad should run through their territory. When we chartered the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad to run through there, we foolishly put into the grant that whenever the Indian title becomes extinct this railroad shall have a strip 20 miles wide. The Indian has been made to believe that the United States is after that land, and that if they have anything to do with the United States it will get that land from them, and so you cannot treat with these Indians. They won't have anything to do with you. They prefer to be isolated, because they cannot trust us. We have tried to get their land, and there is no possibility of treating with them till that delusion is got out of their minds. These five nations will stand off and be isolated under a system that has got its growth. I give this illustration to show what a tribe of Indians can do if they are firmly fixed in their homes, and also to show how the United States, in order to accomplish this new policy, must have the confidence of the Indian growing out of the fact that we don't lie to him. Why does the Indian trust General Crook, that most efficient fighter? Because he always kept his word with the Indian. Who are the men who accomplish the most with the Indians? The men who they believe mean what they say. When I went to Dakota, following after that commission that tried to get the land from them, they told me there was a man who wore somebody else's hair on his head (a wig) who had made a great many treaties with them. Every time a treaty was made with the Sioux you would find his name on it. They said: "He is always after something. When he made the treaty of 1878 he promised us so many cows. When he made the treaty of the Black Hills he promised us so many cows. But 'nary a cow.'" Now if you expect to accomplish anything with an Indian, let him know that you regard your obligations just as much as you expect him to observe his; then you can work out this problem. Take this bill; you make him believe it is for his interest to set him up and give him his patent. With it the tribe is gone, and the tribal deed is gone, because this bill provides the patent shall supersede the other. When a man has set himself up on his farm, he doesn't want anything to do with a reservation, so that your reservation fades out of itself and disappears like the snow in April. When you have set the Indian upon his feet, instead of telling him to "root hog or die," you take him by the hand and show him how to earn his daily bread. You have got him among the fellow-citizens of this body politic; you have "admixt" him. [Laughter.] In a word, you have put him in a way for caring for himself. Now, is not what we have accomplished enough to encourage us to put forth all our efforts to continue in this work? Why busy ourselves with new plans when these glorious results have attended the work we are doing? Why not turn our efforts towards increasing the facilities for educating the Indian? All that makes him a man is education. Let us devise new methods, and let us carry out the glorious idea of General Armstrong of bringing families of young married people to the schools and teaching them how to set up housekeeping and be men and women. Let us see that Congress makes provision for this, so that when they go back they will find employment and encouragement, and not be compelled, as many are, not only to seek all this without being able to find it, but also to meet the scoffs of the wild blanketed Indians around them. The marvel is that one in twenty is able to stand that test instead of only one in a hundred going back to barbarism. It is the duty of the Government to teach them trades and find something for them to do. There are a thousand ways in which to busy ourselves in devising new methods, and in pushing on the one great work. When we have that, all these difficulties that we have been anticipating in the future will have disappeared. I have found more trouble in trying to get over difficulties which were away out yonder, and which in point of fact, when I got there, were not there at all, than any at my feet. I am not troubling myself to-day as to what I shall do with an Indian's reservation who shall not consent to give it up. I have as much as I can do to-day. I beg you to do all you can, and hold up the hands of all who are doing this work. [Applause.]

THE NEED OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

The Hon. William H. Lyon, of Brooklyn, N. Y., one of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was the next speaker. He said:

"I believe in homes for the Indians, and I was pleased with Judge Strong's remark that there is no civilization without homes. The homes of the Indians that I have seen are not such as would lead to civilization—many of them, at least. In regard to education, the great drift of the work has been to educate children up to twenty years of age; but I think there are 200,000 Indians over twenty who are entitled to some consideration in the way of an education. They are not allowed in the schools after they are twenty-five years old. If they are to have homes and lands in sever-

alty, the next thing will be to have agricultural instructors. They want homes and houses and a little household furniture, and then agricultural implements and agricultural teachers. Agent Dyer of the Cheyennes says, in his last report, that it seems strange to him that $300,000 per year can be secured to purchase beef and flour, when twenty-five farmers as industrial teachers, with suitable implements, would save this large sum. In the last few years we have purchased more than $15,000,000 worth of beef. This money could be saved if the Indians were not kept in idleness, but were taught agriculture. It has been said here that when they leave Hampton and Carlisle they are fitted to care for themselves, but the scholars I have seen are not of that kind. If this Coke bill can be passed and homes obtained in severalty, the next want will be agricultural teachers. At the Devil's Lake Agency some of the teachers will not instruct them unless they connect religious instruction with their work. Major McLaughlin attends to the farming, and the Mother Superior of the grey nuns of Montreal superintends their studies. This year they have raised 60,000 bushels of wheat, because they are educated in the line of farming. To show the importance of educating Indians to raise their own supplies, I will say that last season we purchased 8,000,000 pounds of flour, 900,000 pounds of corn and corn-meal, 100,000 pounds of barley, and 139,000 pounds of beans. All this they could have raised themselves if they had been taught agriculture. I will only say that I hope, if that bill passes and the Indians get land in severalty, that some provision will be made for agricultural instructors."

Miss Alice C. Fletcher closed the evening with an address on treaty-keeping, in which she emphasized the fact that the idea of "trade" has been at the bottom of all our treaties: that such portions of treaties as call for vast expenditures for annuities, food, and clothing—material things, most of which tend to pauperize the Indian—are carried out to the letter, because the purchase and distribution tend to help the general trade of the country, while those portions of the treaties which require the education of the Indian are either ignored or only very slightly regarded, so that today the Government, according to treaty requirements, owes the Indian more than $2,000,000 for educational purposes. In response to a question, Miss Fletcher disclaimed any thought of reflection upon the honesty with which supplies are purchased for the Indians, merely desiring to call attention to the fact that matters of least benefit to the Indian received the most attention, because they were of benefit to the trade of the country.

THIRD DAY—MORNING SESSION.

At the opening of the session, before the final report of the business committee, addresses were made by Mrs. W. W. Crannell, secretary of the Eastern New York Indian Association, and by Mrs. A. S. Quinton, of Philadelphia, secretary of the Woman's National Indian Association.

WOMAN'S WORK FOR THE INDIAN.

Mrs. QUINTON said: The work of the Woman's National Association began six years ago last spring. It originated in a desire to make known the facts as to the Indian's needs; to consolidate the work of the friends of the Indian, and help bring forward some lines of work that all could pursue. The first thing was simply to make the facts known, and that was done in four different ways: First, by mass meetings; second, through the circulation of leaflets and pamphlets; third, through memorials to Government; and fourth, through newspaper work. From the beginning the appeal was to Christians, to pastors of churches, and to editors. The thought was that with ten millions of Christian people in this country the Indian question could be settled in a just way and in accordance with Gospel principles, since these were believed to be the most practical. A good deal of work was done at first without any organization. The first work was the circulating of petitions to Congress to keep the treaties. The first petition was circulated in fifteen States and went to the House of Representatives that year. That petition had 13,000 signatures. The next year we had one that represented 50,000 people. This one was presented in the Senate by Senator Dawes. The third represented 100,000, and was also presented by Senator Dawes in the Senate. It was brought up in the House several days later. The second and third of these petitions were also presented to the President at the White House. The organizing of the society began the latter part of the second and the first part of the third years. We have auxiliaries in twenty-seven States, and there are fifty-six auxiliary societies. I suppose no one can be perfectly consistent on the Indian question any more than Government can be. The views of the friends of the Indian grow the more they know of the question, so the thought of the women has changed from year to year; but there is no change as to the necessity of keeping our

obligations to the Indians, and recognizing them as men and women. Barbarism has no claim upon us, but barbarians have, especially when we have acknowledged our obligation to protect them in their rights. The present objects of the association are to strengthen public sentiment on behalf of Indians and to secure their rights.

In regard to the missionary work of the association, that is a new departure. The work of the society in all its State branches has been done in the ways I have stated. During the last year it was resolved to begin missionary work, and this Department was taken in because of the appeal of Christian women. As I went about I was everywhere met with this remark, "If you will undertake missionary work we will be with you." So the society agreed to take in this department, but pledged itself not to go where there were any missions already located, so as not to tread on the ground of others. We gave the simplest forms of Christian instruction, reading the Bible and explaining it, then giving domestic teaching, going into the homes of Indian women, and also bringing them to the home of the missionary. This is to set them coveting Christian homes instead of a tent, and to show them the wisdom of doing work in a better way than that to which they had been accustomed. There have been three stations made during the last year. First, at Pawnee. Immediately after we went there we had application from the Woman's Methodist Board of the West, so the Pawnee station was left for them, as that was in our largest tribe. The Government had suggested through the Secretary where the work should be begun. The Methodist Board has begun a good work, and has an able woman at Pawnee. The next stations were at Otoe and at Ponca, Indian Territory; and negotiations are pending for the transference of these stations to Congregational women of Brooklyn, and we hope that in a few weeks they will be in charge of them. The next station will be among the Sioux of Dakota, and a young lady from Dr Sunderland's church will go to the new station, and a second missionary with her. Bishop Hare will select that station. It must be where the Government will give house-room gratis, and we hope the station will be under the eye of Bishop Hare, or under the advice of Mr. Thomas Riggs. The Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians are doing a grand work in Dakota, and we hope that in a year one of their societies will be ready to take our station there permanently. The money has been from those largely who have not given for missionary work. We need funds. It is not proper to say a word about this, only the treasury is nearly empty. We want to publish leaflets and pamphlets, and give information in various ways. We are going now to organize in the Southern States. Everything is ready, and with this Democratic administration, of course we need a Southern constituency. We do not send to Congress great popular petitions now; we have learned more direct methods of work.

THE PLATFORM.

Dr. Rhoads reported from the business committee the following statement, which he said received the cordial approval of every member of the committee:

The Indian question can never be settled except on principles of justice and equal rights. In its settlement all property rights of the Indians should be sacredly guarded, and all obligations should be faithfully fulfilled. Keeping this steadily in view, the object of all legislative and executive action hereafter should be not the isolation of the Indians, but the abrogation of the Indian reservations as rapidly as possible, the permitted diffusion of the Indians among the people in order that they may become acquainted with civilized habits and modes of life; the ultimate discontinuance of annuities, so promotive of idleness and pauperism; the subjection of the Indians to the laws of the United States and of the States and Territories where they may reside, and their protection by the same laws as those by which citizens are protected; the opening of all the territory of the United States to their possible acquisition and to civilization, and the early admission of Indians to American citizenship. These objects should be steadily kept in view, and pursued immediately, vigorously, and continuously. The measures we recommend for their accomplishment are the following:

(1) The present system of Indian education should be enlarged, and a comprehensive plan should be adopted, which shall place all Indian children in schools under compulsion if necessary, and shall provide industrial education for a large proportion of them. Adult Indians should be brought under preparation for self-support. To this end the free ration system should be discontinued as rapidly as possible, and a sufficient number of farmers and other industrial teachers should be provided meantime to teach them to earn their own living.

(2) Immediate measures should be taken to break up the system of holding all lands in common, and each Indian family should receive a patent for a portion of land to be held in severalty, its amount dependent upon the number of members of the family and the character of the land, whether adapted for cultivation or for grazing. This land should be inalienable for a period of twenty-five years. The Coke bill, as embodying this principle, has our earnest support, and is urged upon all rriends of the Indians as the one practicable measure for securing these ends.

(3) All portions of the Indian reservations which are not so allotted should, after the Indians have selected and secured their lands, be purchased by the Government at a fair rate, and be thrown open to settlement.

(4) The cash value of the lands thus purchased should be set aside by the Government as a fund to be expended as rapidly as can be wisely done for their benefit, especially their industrial and educational advancement.

(5) In order to carry out the preceding recommendations legal provision should be made for the necessary surveys of reservations, and, wherever necessary, negotiations should be entered into for the modification of the present treaties, and these negotiations should be pressed in every honorable way until the consent of the Indians be obtained.

(6) Indians belonging to tribes which give up their reservations and accept allotments of land in severalty, and all Indians that abandon their tribal organization and adopt the habits and modes of civilized life, should be at once admitted to citizenship of the United States, become subject to and entitled to the protection of the laws of the United States and of the States or Territories where they may reside.

(7) During this process of civilization some representative of the United States Government should be charged with the protection and instruction of the Indians. But all such officers should be withdrawn as soon as the Indians are capable of self-support and self-protection.

(8) We are unalterably opposed to the removal of tribes of Indians from their established homes, and massing them together in one or more Territories, as injurious to the Indian and an impediment to civilization.

(9) We thankfully recognize the growing interest taken by the legislative and executive departments of our country in the welfare of the Indians, and the increased desire manifest among our people West and East to do them justice. And our thanks are also due to the religious and philanthropic organizations which have fostered this interest, and have supplemented the work of the Government by their missionary and educational labors. But we believe that what has been done in the past is but a beginning, and that both Government and individuals must do much more before the debt we owe to the Indians can be paid.

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT'S REMARKS.

Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT. I shall try to keep myself within the fifteen minutes, and as the time is so short I am sure the conference will excuse me if I take no time for personal references or compliments, nor even for what, in a public address, might be more necessary, of qualification and limitation, but put as sharply as I can the ideas I have upon this subject.

In the first place, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, there are one or two things we may take for granted. We may take it for granted that we are not here to criticise legislation, certainly not those who have been laboring in the earlier periods of this movement against bitter hostility, sometimes open and avowed, and sometimes harder to meet--secret. We think it an honor that we are permitted to be enrolled with them, and we recognize gratefully the services they have rendered, are rendering, and have yet to render. In what I shall say this morning I hope I shall not be understood as criticising the Coke bill. So far as I understand it, it has my hearty and warm approval. I shall be glad to vote with the conference an expression of that approval.

In the second place, it may be taken for granted that we are Christian men and women; that we believe in justice, good-will, and charity, and the brotherhood of the human race. At least none of us here desire to break the Ten Commandments, nor break down honor and rectitude. I think it may be taken for granted that all of us here are, I will not say friends of the Indian, but friends of humanity, and friends of equal rights; that there is no person invited here, and no one who has come, who desires for one moment, having sworn to his own hurt, to change or alter or break a contract or a treaty that he may be benefited by the breaking of it. But if we have made a bad contract it is better broken than kept. I do not propose to argue the question of treaty at any length, but it is proper to state the position I hold, with some others, on this subject.

It is not right to do a wrong thing, and if you have agreed to do a wrong thing that agreement does not make it right. If we have made contracts the result of which as shown by later experience, is inhumanity and degradation, we are not bound to go on with them, we are bound to stop. A few years ago the United States Government was giving scalping-knives to the Indians. No matter on what parchment the treaty was made, we were bound to stop the issue of the scalping-knives. If we had agreed with some tribe in ancient time that we would set up no school-house or church with them we should have no right to go on with that treaty. If we have bound a millstone about the neck of the Indian, the first step of justice is to cut the cord and set

him free. We have no right to keep a drunken Indian in darkness because we have agreed to do so till he has learned the evil effects of whisky. The people of these United States made a sacred compact with one another, the Constitution of the United States, and we were told by the highest judicial and constitutional authorities that that Constitution required us to catch and return the fugitive slave. There were some who believed in a higher law, and I was one of them, under which no contract could be executed that made it our duty to become bloodhounds to pursue a fleeing man. We have no right to do a wrong because we have covenanted to. With these brief words on the subject of treaty making, I pass to the larger question, because our obligations to the Indian are not primarily rooted in contract or treaty. Our primary obligations to the Indian are of a much more fundamental character—the duties that the strong owe to the weak; that the Government owes to those under it; that man owes to his fellow man. We have no contract with the negro; but we owe duties to him. We have no contract with the Chinaman; but I think we owe him something. We have no contract with the Italian, the Hungarian, and others; yet we owe them duties. It is of these larger duties we owe that I speak this morning.

When our fathers landed on these shores there was no alternative but to make treaties with the Indians; it was necessary. We have now passed beyond the epoch in which it is right or necessary to make treaties, and have so officially declared. We can no longer be bound by our forefathers; we must adapt our policy to the change of circumstances. It is sometimes said that the Indians occupied this country, and that we took it away from them; that the country belonged to them. This is not true. The Indians did not occupy this land. A people do not occupy a country simply because they roam over it. They did not occupy the coal mines, nor the gold mines, into which they never struck a pick; nor the rivers which flow to the sea, and on which the music of a mill was never heard. The Indians can scarcely be said to have occupied this country more than the bisons and the buffalo they hunted. Three hundred thousand people have no right to hold a continent and keep at bay a race able to people it and provide the happy homes of civilization. We do owe the Indians sacred rights and obligations, but one of those duties is not right to let them hold forever the land they did not occupy, and which they were not making fruitful for themselves or others.

The reservation system has grown up. It is not necessary to go into the process by which it has grown. It is enough to say that a territory in this country about twice as large as the entire territory of England, Ireland, and Scotland, has been set apart to barbarism by the reservation system. The railroad goes to the edge of it and halts. The post-office goes to the edge of it and halts. There are mines there unopened; great wealth untouched by those who dwell there. The reservation system runs a fence about a great territory and says to civilization, "Keep off!" It was a great complaint against William the Conqueror that he preserved great forests in the heart of his country for his hunting ground. We have no right to preserve a territory twice as large as Great Britain for a hunting ground for anyone. If this reservation system was only doing a positive injury to us, then we might endure it. But it holds back civilization and isolates the Indian, and denies him any right which justice demands for him. What are you and I entitled to ask for, living under these stars and stripes? Protection for our homes; protection to go where we wish; a right to buy in the cheapest market; a right to education; the right to appeal to the protection of law; protection for ourselves and children. There is not one of these rights that the reservation system does not put its foot upon. Even under the modified system, modified by recent reforms, the United States says to the Indian, "You cannot have a home till half or two-thirds of your tribe will agree." Last night the *New York Times* said that the cowboys were watching along the borders of a distant reservation, waiting to shoot the first Indian that should appear; and unless rumor does the cowboy injustice, his bullet *might* fly across and hit an Indian before leaving his border. The Indian may not carry his goods across the reservation. We deny him an open market. Every right to which we hold ourselves entitled by the God of Heaven, we deny the Indian under this system, and expect to compensate him by putting in here a church and there a schoolhouse. But Christianity is not merely a thing of churches and school-houses. The post-office is a Christianizing institution; the railroad, with all its corruptions, is a Christianizing power, and will do more to teach the people punctuality than schoolmaster or preacher can. I hope you will not think I speak in disrespect of church and school-house. They that are maintaining the church and school-house in those distant reservations are the very ones, without exception, that urge us to break down the barriers and let in the full flood tide of Christian civilization. Theirs is the appeal, theirs the urgency. We take a few Indians and bring them to Carlisle and Hampton. Captain Pratt at Carlisle and General Armstrong at Hampton have done more for the Indian race—thank God for them—than any man can do with a glib tongue or a quick pen. But General Armstrong has told us this year how this reservation system stands against his work, and Captain Pratt tells us the same. You educate an Indian boy and send him back to the Indian Territory. He must not find a wife

here, because that would be intermingling with the American population. He looks for a wife there, and they look with as natural disgust upon a beaver hat as he would upon a squaw's blanket. These men, whether in the Territory or out of it, are rowing their boat against the whole tide of our national life and begging us to make it flow the other way.

I declare my conviction, then, that the reservation system is hopelessly wrong; that it cannot be amended or modified; that it can only be uprooted, root, trunk, branch, and leaf, and a new system put in its place. We evangelical ministers believe in immediate repentance. I hold to immediate repentance as a national duty. Cease to do evil, cease instantly, abruptly, immediately. I hold that the reservation barriers should be cast down and the land given to the Indians in severalty; that every Indian should be protected in his right to his home, and in his right to free intercourse and free trade, whether the rest of the tribe wish him so protected or not; that these are his individual, personal rights, which no tribe has the right to take from him, and no nation the right to sanction the robbery of. Do you ask "What would you do to-morrow morning?" We are told that upon the Pacific coast is a tribe of Indians to which patents have been issued, and that these patents are in pigeon-holes in Washington. I would take them out to-morrow and send them to the Indians as fast as the railroad trains can carry them, and I would follow this work up all along the line. I would begin at once a process for the survey and allotment of land to individuals in severalty. I would take the Indian and give him the rights of manhood with this great American people; and if there are any tribes so wild and barbaric that this cannot be done with them, I would put them under close surveillance, and would bring them under a compulsory educative process.

One word more. It is said that this is not safe; that we must protect the Indian. There are two methods for the protection of the Indian. They were proposed some fifteen or twenty years ago for the protection of the negro. A portion of the community believed the wisest thing to do was to place the negroes together in one State, separating them from the rest of the people and massing them on a great reservation, and, if it did not cost too much, perhaps sending them to Liberia. This was to protect them from the wrongs their neighbors might do them. But the American people said "No! we will make these men free, we will give them the ballot, and they must protect themselves." We said to the negro just what General Whittlesey said he would do with the Indian; and what St. Paul said eighteen centuries ago I would say still, "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat." In the case of the negro, though there were wrongs perpetrated, yet as the final result, the negro and the white man are adjusting their relations and coming into harmony. I believe it safer to leave the Indian to the protection of the law than to the protection of the agency. For my part I would rather run my risk with the laws of the land, and with the courts open to me, than with the agent who may be a philanthropist, or who may be a politician. We have made progress, we are making progress, but I am sometimes a little impatient, the progress is so slow. I feel a little as Horace Mann did when he came in after attending a convention, full of nervous impetuosity and wrathful at the slowness of the reform. Some one said to him "God is patient." "Yes," he said, "God is patient, but I cannot wait."

Mr. JOHN H. OBERLY, superintendent of Indian schools, Department of the Interior, Washington. With your president here [indicating General Fisk] I made a treaty, and he has broken it.

The CHAIRMAN. I fall back on Dr. Abbott; I agreed to a wrong thing, and the time to repent is now.

Mr. OBERLY. But I, the unfortunate victim of the broken contract, must nevertheless suffer.

The fact is [addressing the conference], your chairman made an agreement with me, by the terms of which I, who have none of the skill of a public speaker, was to have been exempted from the (by him) asserted necessity of making a speech to you. He assured me that he, and you, too, would be satisfied if I would answer in your hearing questions that would be asked me relating to Indian schools and to my office. But here I am before you and there is no questioner at work. So what else can I do under the circumstances than satisfy myself with a protest against the wrong which has been inflicted upon me, and obtain for this wrong an ample revenge by using my uncultivated faculty of speech in inflicting upon you a loose, disjointed, not-at-all-considered address upon a subject to which I have not yet given the study necessary to a proper comprehension of its scope and bearings.

What the wise Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Dawes] said last night in his interesting address attracted my attention, and what good Dr. Abbott has just said in your hearing has also been attentively listened to by me. These two good men are approaching the same point from opposite directions. The Senator would confer the benefits of civilization upon the Indians by waiting until proper occasion is ripe, and the good work may be done without breaking the nation's word; and the doctor would do the good work suggested by not waiting, by compelling the Indians to ac-

cept our civilization without delay, and by breaking the nation's word with them. But both the wise Senator and the good doctor have arrived at this common standpoint, that the first essential thing in the attempt to solve the Indian problem is agreement that the Indian is a man and that he should have individualism. Therefore, both the wise Senator and the good doctor agree together in the sensible conclusion that, as soon as possible, the paternalism of the Government should be removed from the Indians, who should no longer be considered in our legislation as communities to be nursed and fondled by kind, or to be cursed and whipped by cruel, paternalism, but, as individuals, as men, each man having the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and every individual being under the provisions of the inexorable law which rests upon every human creature, that he must, before he can attain to the full stature of manhood, work out for himself and in his own way his own destiny. [Applause.] This can never be done under any system of kind or cruel, fondling or punishing, paternalism.

While riding with a very pleasant company yesterday afternoon, along one of the roads leading to what is known as "The Eagle's Cliff," the scenery within my view recalled to my recollection a mythological story that teaches impressively the importance of individualism in the affairs of the world. To this story, for the purpose of pointing a moral, I may, not inaptly, refer in the hearing of so many gentlemen who preside over institutions of learning and are scholars, I presume. If recollection does not deal treacherously with me, to this effect the story runs: The Sphinx, a monster, once infested the road near Thebes. At one place in the road, running along the edge of a precipice as deep and steep as the one we look across the lake from "The Eagle's Cliff," this monster crouched, and to every traveler proposed an enigma, with the condition that the one who could solve it might pass in safety, but all who failed should be devoured. Every person who entered into or departed from Thebes had to pass along this road, and was asked the riddle. No one had solved it. Thousands had failed and had perished. One day Œdipus passed that way and was arrested by the Sphinx, who said "Solve my riddle or die. What being walks in the morning on four feet, at noon on two, and in the evening on three; has one voice, and when with the most feet is weakest?" Œdipus answered: "That being is man, who in childhood crawls on hands and knees, in manhood walks erect, and in old age walks with a staff." The Sphinx, mortified at the solution of her riddle, cast herself down the abyss without using her wings, and perished, and ever afterwards the way was clear for those who wished to enter into or depart from Thebes.

This story teaches the lesson of political individualism, and may be used to give point to the doctrine that paternalism in government is an iniquity, and that all political progress has its foundation in the individual. There are many Sphinx riddles in politics, and the answer to every one is the answer of Œdipus, "man." At stated periods in the history of every nation, a political Sphinx has seated herself at a narrow place on the road to national prosperity and has said "Solve my riddle or die. What being walks on four feet in the morning, on two at noon, and on three at night." To this question some of the nations have replied by saying "the king;" others, "the nobles;" others, "wealth;" others, "the sword." The bleaching bones of most of the nations that have replied thus are scattered all along the highroad of the world's history. The first time in the history of the human race America gave to the Sphinx riddle of statesmanship the answer of Œdipus. "We, the people," was the reply the Americans made to the king, by which answer every man who was devoted to the cause of independence said, "I, the individual, agreeing with my fellow citizens in this conclusion; I, the individual, having an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, unite with other individuals in saying that the answer to the heretofore unanswered riddle of statemanship is Man, for whom all governments should be created, because from the individual all legitimate political power primarily flows." [Applause.]

This answer was put into the mouths of the American people by Jefferson, who founded the political party of which I am a member, and its application to affairs of state resulted in the assertion of the new political thought, never dreamed of as possible before the days of Jefferson, that charters of power should be granted, not by power, but by liberty. Before the dawn of American liberty, from time immemorial, charters of liberty had been granted by power. The king and the victorious soldier, fresh from won battle-fields, had graciously conferred liberty by saying to the people, "You may." At Runnymede the bold barons said to King John, "You must permit us to enjoy life and liberty." Consulting his fears, the King replied, "You may." Thus liberty came either by the favor or fear of the ruler. Liberty flowed down to the people from power. But when America said to the world, "The answer to the great political riddle of the ages is, 'Manhood, because all legitimate political power comes primarily from the individual,'" a new truth was asserted, and our ancestors set the example of charters of power granted, and limitations of power imposed, by liberty. They revised the old rule, and said to their ruler, "You may," "You must," and "You shall not." They gave vitality to the doctrine that the individual citizen had the

right to say, "I consent," or "I object;" to say to the Government, "You may," "You must," and "You shall not." And now, therefore, in this day of grace, and under our benign political system, liberty no longer flows down to the people from power, but power flows up from the people to the political officer, who holds his office in trust for the public. The ruler—the Government—no longer says to the people, "You may," "You must," and "You shall not," but the people now say to the Government, "You may," "You must," and "You shall not." We have given vitality to the politica doctrine of individualism.

But in our treatment of the Indian we inconsistently apply the old doctrine that governments should not have their foundations laid in the consent of the governed. As in the olden time, we say to the Indians, "You may," "You must," and "You shall not;" and, refusing to recognize individualism among them, we herd them into tribes upon reservations, within the limits of which neither law nor liberty has an abiding place; property rights are unknown; sloth wastes the sluggish body because hands refuse to labor; vices, collected through many ages, are fed by idleness; conscience, not being regularly tilled, produces nothing but the coarse grasses and thorns of virtue; men finish within each day the whole purpose of their existence. While we hold to this policy in Indian affairs, we can never solve the Indian riddle. It must be answered as the Sphinx's was, by a recognition of the manhood of the Indian. Any other answer will result in the failure of the Government to accomplish any good. Therefore, the problem now is, how to make fit the Indian, ballot in hand, to say to the Government, "You shall no longer say to me, 'You may,' 'You must,' 'You shall not;' for now, by the magic power of this little piece of paper, I say to you, 'You may,' 'You must,' 'You shall not.'" How can this be done? How can the Indian be fitted for citizenship and enfranchisement? This is the problem we have to solve.

I understand Dr. Abbott to say that the Indian can be made fit for citizenship and enfranchisement by the immediate destruction of the reservation, by giving to each Indian land in severalty, and by compelling every Indian to work, under the penalty spoken of by St. Paul, and referred to here yesterday by General Whittlesey, "That if any would not work, neither should he eat."

The good doctor would pay no attention to the stipulations of our treaties with the Indians. He would abolish the reservations now, treaties or no treaties. But would this be wise? The doctor says the cowboy, having been driven from a reservation, stands with ready gun outside this reservation, determined to kill all Indians who leave it. If the doctor's suggestion were acted upon, and the reservation system were immediately abolished, the cowboy would not long stand outside the imaginary line that now marks the limits of the reservation. He would go across it, and soon there would be no Indians living to protest against robbery and violence. To wipe out the reservation lines now, and leave the Indian unprotected from the rapacity of the white man, would be an unpardonable crime.

Another question, now. Shall we, as the doctor proposes, compel the Indian to take lands in severalty? The Indian is ignorant and debased; he has not been educated to know what property in land is; he does not know how to own land; he does not know how to use land. Would it then be wise to compel him to enter into the possession of lands allotted to him? I cannot believe that it would be.

With Dr. Abbott, and with your declaration of principles, I agree, that the Indian should be admitted to American citizenship; that the reservation system should be destroyed; that lands should be allotted to the Indians in severalty, and that the Indian should be compelled to work; but I would reverse the order of and in some slight manner change this declaration. I would first teach the Indian how to work; then I would teach him our ideas of the rights of property, and give him lands in severalty; then I would abolish the reservation system, and then make the Indian a citizen and enfranchise him. I would prepare him for the unharmful exercise of the rights of a property-holder, a citizen, and a voter. How can this be done? You have said by enlarging the present system of Indian education. This brings me to the question? What is the present system of Indian education?

Replying to this question, I am compelled to say that this system, if, indeed, system it may be called, is a very defective one; and, contemplating it with curious interest I am forced to the conclusion that it is what may be called a Topsy system. Topsy, you know (if Topsy may be accepted as good authority), never had a father, never had a mother, never was born; she "just growed." [Laughter.] So it may be said of the present Indian school system; it never had a father; it never had a mother; it never was born; it "just growed."

Under this system, we find Government and mission day-schools on the reservations: Government and mission boarding-schools on the reservations; Government and mission training-schools; colleges and schools in the States and Territories, at which the Government has placed Indian children, under contracts made with such schools and colleges.

Need I tell you how the teachers and other employés of the Government schools are procured? In theory they are all appointed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,

excepting the superintendents of the industrial schools, who are appointed by the Secretary of the Interior; but, in fact, all the employés of the day-schools and reservation boarding-schools are appointed by the Indian agents. And who are they? They are men who give large bonds to the Government and draw small salaries for the performance of important duties. Drawing, as his own salary, $1,000 or $1,500, or, at most, $2,200 per annum, the Indian agent must, as a matter of course, bring from other sources as great a salary-income into his family as possible, and, therefore, his wife, and sons, and daughters, are often appointed as employés of the schools. The appointment of his wife as matron, if she is competent to fill the place with ability, is desirable; and, without injury to the interests of the school, his daughter, if she is qualified, may be appointed teacher; but as the agent is, in fact, the judge of the qualifications of all the school employés, self-interest often induces him to overlook the importance of not appointing members of his own family who lack the qualifications the interests of the schools require. He must also look after the friends and "the sisters, and the cousins, and the aunts" of his bondsmen, who are, as a general rule, members of his own political party; and too often the Congressman whose influence procured the agent his place will say to him, "I have done you a good turn in this matter, and now you must give Jones, who has for a long time taken care of one of my most troublesome wards, a good place under you;" and so Jones, skillful as a wire-puller, but ignorant of books, is appointed to a place in a school, perhaps. Too many inefficient and unworthy men and women are in this way appointed to places in the Indian schools.

Now, how can this evil be corrected? How can we obtain school employés in despite of the school-marring influences of partisan politics and personal interests? Luckily we are living under a civil service reform administration, and we may, therefore, hope that the hand of the politician will be taken from the Indian school system. The hand of the Republican partisan will surely be taken from it, at least temporarily; no doubt of that. [Laughter.] As I look around me here I feel lonesome; you are nearly all Republicans.

The CHAIRMAN. Why, look at that man [pointing at Hon. Erastus Brooks], and that, and that.

Mr. OBERLY. Now that we are in [addressing the persons indicated by the chairman], we find nothing but Republican employés in the schools, and what are we going to do about it? Shall we turn them all out and put Democrats in? Whenever a Republican Indian agent retires from office at the expiration of his term, or is retired because he has been an offensive partisan or an incompetent or unfaithful officer, or a dishonest man, a Democrat is, as a matter of course, put into his place. This Democrat does not receive a higher salary than his Republican predecessor received, or give a smaller bond than the Republican gave, and we may admit, I venture to say, that he will be solicited by a not less hungry lot of office-seekers; indeed it would be strange if this set of office-seekers were not hungrier than that set, because you know we Democrats have not had anything to eat for twenty-four years. [Laughter.] What—what will the Democratic Indian agent do about it? I do not know.

But this I do know, that every Indian agent will be hereafter required to send to the Indian office, with his nomination of any school employé—with his nomination of a superintendent, or matron, or teacher, or industrial teacher farmer, or blacksmith, or carpenter, or seamstress, or laundress, or cook—evidences that the person nominated is qualified to fill with ability the position named, and is industrious, zealous, and of good reputation. And the agent will also be required to give his reasons for making any removal of a school employé—to give his reasons in full; and if these reasons do not show that the removal has been made for good cause, the removal will not be approved. In this way, it is to be hoped, the removal of worthy and the appointment of unworthy employés may be prevented. So far, every superintendent of an industrial school, appointed since the 4th of last March, has been instructed to make no removals of employés simply on account of political affiliations, but to make as many removals as possible on account of inefficiency and unworthiness.

By another method we will attempt to give more efficient employés to and add to the usefulness of some of the more important schools. Whenever a boarding-school on a reservation is distant from the agency, and cannot, therefore, receive the daily attention of the agent, the authority of the Secretary of the Interior will be requested to separate that school from the agency, and put it under a bonded superintendent, who will be appointed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, be required to furnish evidence that he is a competent educator and a business man, and he will be paid—what is not paid to any superintendent of any reservation boarding-school now—a good salary for the faithful and skillful performance of his duty.

Ladies and gentlemen, partisan politics have heretofore controlled every Indian agency, and packed the Indian schools with the protégés of politicians, in this way crippling the schools, and robbing them of much of their efficiency. You must, therefore, permit me to say that you should thank the Lord that the Democratic party has come into power, and is determined to make merit and competency, instead of

partisan considerations, paramount tests, and apply them to every applicant for a position in the Indian school service. To be entirely frank with you, I will say that if a vacancy existed in any school, and there were two candidates for the place, one a Democrat and the other a Republican, and they were of equal ability and merit, no agent or superintendent would be called into question if he were to prefer a Democrat, but he would be applauded every time he preferred a worthy and competent Republican to an unworthy and incompetent Democrat.

Now, having determined upon a plan by which we may obtain competent and worthy employés, how are we to obtain pupils for the schools?

The Indians reluctantly send their children to school. They are in no hurry to accept the great boon of free education, which the Government is now so kindly and wisely offering to them. They are unlike Dr. Abbott; they can wait. Many of them absolutely refuse to permit their sons and daughters to enter a school-room, and say: "Education is for the white man, not for the Indian. Our children must grow up to be Indians with Indian ways, and the school would make them whitemen with the white man's ways." Sometimes the agent, by direction of the Indian Office, says to the Indian protestant against the schools: "I will not pay you your annuity until your children have been sent to the school." Then the children appear in the school, the annuities are paid, and the children at once disappear from the school. What can be done to overcome this difficulty? A good many of our treaties with the Indians provide that the Government shall build school-houses, and furnish to the contracting tribes educational facilities, the Indians, on their part, agreeing that rations and annuities shall be withheld if children are not supplied to the schools by their parents. I think I may promise that Secretary Lamar and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Atkins, who have this matter much at heart, will give the necessary authority for enforcing these provisions of Indian treaties. Even an Indian would rather have his children educated than starve or suffer for want of food. But all that can be done in this way under the treaties will not be successful in compelling many—a great majority—of the Indian children of school age to attend the schools. This can be done only by a rigid law requiring the attendance of Indian children at the schools under certain penalties to be inflicted upon the refusing parents. Compulsory education must be resorted to. The Indians are the wards of the nation, and they must, until they are emancipated from this evil paternal system, be compelled to be good to themselves, if such compulsion can be resorted to without doing violence to any of their treaty rights. I believe that a law requiring every reservation Indian in the United States to send his children to school, and punishing him for refusing or neglecting to do so, would not contravene the provisions of any treaty. I believe Congress ought to pass a stringent law of this kind. I am sure that, under the provisions of such a law, we could get the Indian children out of the camps into the schools, a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Having determined upon a plan by which competent teachers may be obtained, and the Indian children compelled to attend the schools provided for them, what shall be taught by the teachers to the pupils, and what methods of instruction shall be adopted?

To teach an Indian pupil to "read, write, and cipher" is not sufficient. He must be taught many things that need not be taught to a white pupil. He must be taught to unlearn many things that he has learned; to discard prejudices that were impressed upon his mind in his infancy; to rise superior to the conditions under which he lived in the Indian camp and to which he must return; to abandon the religion of his fathers, and accept a new faith; to cast off the social conditions of his own people and receive those of another people. He is a prickly thorn that must be made to bear soft roses; he is a twig bent out of the perpendicular, and he must be straightened so that the tree will stand erect, inclining no way; he is a vessel of bronze that must be made bright by constant rubbing. To be a teacher of these things to a pupil of this kind requires that patience which makes the heaviest burdens light. In addition to lessons in morals, in religion, in literature, in history, the Indian pupil should be taught politics in the higher sense of that word. He should be instructed in our theory of government, and in our ideas of property and business. He should be taught that he may own lands and sell them or transmit his rights in them to his children. He should also be taught how to work. He should be taught how to cultivate the soil after he has been taught how to own it, and how to manage flocks and herds. The agency farm is an abomination, but the Indian school farm and cattle range may be made blessings that will give to the tribes farmers and herdsmen. The Indian boy pupil should also be taught all the trades that the farmer and the herdsman patronize. He should be taught how to build houses; how to make wagons, harness, and saddles; how to shoe horses; how to make clothing and boots and shoes. And the girl pupil should be instructed in household ways—should be taught how to cook; how to wash and iron clothing; how to handle the needle; how to nurse the sick; how to be a good wife and a good mother.

And now as to methods of instruction. Each school is a law unto itself in regard to methods. This lamentable fact will become forcibly apparent to your minds, when I tell you that the Indian agent not only selects the employés of what may be not improperly called his schools, but also determines the text-books that shall be used by what may be not inappropriately designated as his pupils. As a result of this looseness in our so-called school system, all the school text-books that are published in the United States are being used in the Indian schools. But am I correct in attributing this at least apparent liberality towards school-book publishers to the looseness of the school system? May it not have resulted from a desire to obtain the favor of these men in politics? To induce them to help with purse and influence the political party to which I do not belong—the political party that was lately put out of power—in theory, but which is not yet altogether out—in fact? But, be that as it may, the list of school-books sent by the Indian Bureau to the Indian agents, from which to choose books for their schools, is a quarter of a mile long—"more or less," as the lawyers say; and none of the books on the list—none of the books used in the Indian schools—can be used to advantage, because Indian children cannot be properly instructed in the same way—out of the same books and by the same methods—that white children are instructed.

Well, what are we going to do about this? How can this looseness of system be corrected? How can these defective methods be replaced by better ones?

I have already indicated some of the screws I would use in making the system firmer. I have done this by calling your attention to the necessity of establishing tests of qualification for employment in schools that will render impossible the appointment of incompetent employés for party purposes or personal reasons, and by pointing out to you the paramount necessity of divorcing the school system from agency control.

Very well, but how can the defective school methods now in use be replaced by better ones? Before you cook your hare you catch it. Before you can use better methods you must procure them. And this is what must be done—better methods of Indian school instruction must be determined upon; but how? I have said that every Indian school is now a law unto itself; and it is also a fact that every Indian agent who gives to the subject of schools any thought at all, and every superintendent and every teacher of every school has his or her own opinion about methods of instruction, and acts upon those opinions. Out of this independence of thought and action among the persons who manage the schools no uniform instruction can come; but if the persons who have had the most experience in Indian school affairs could be called into convention occasionally, so that they might discuss with one another the Indian school system and Indian school methods, I have little doubt that soon the system would be improved and better methods devised.

Therefore I have suggested that an annual conference of the superintendents of Indian schools should be held. This suggestion has been approved by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who will ask Congress to appropriate $1,500 to defray the expenses of such a conference, to be held next year. To this conference, which will be composed of Armstrong, of the Hampton school; Pratt, of Carlisle; Grabowski, of the Haskell Institute; Branham, of Chilocco; Lee, of Salem; Chase, of Genoa; and other superintendents of other important Indian schools, I shall submit the proposition that a series of uniform Indian school text-books should be prepared by the Government and printed at the Government Printing Office. In this way the schools may be supplied with books that will be exactly adapted to the purpose for which they are intended, and in this way the Indian child will be given a primer it can comprehend, and the more advanced pupil a reader containing matter that will both instruct and entertain, and a history of the United States that will not on one page represent the Indian as a monster, and on the next page represent him as a hero of romance.

By these annual conferences, and by Indian school teacher's institutes, and by other means, we may wisely determine what should be taught in the schools and the best methods of instruction.

And now comes the most important question of all. After the Indian boys of the schools have been educated under the best system and by the best methods we can devise, what are we going to do with them? The Indian boys who return to the camps from Hampton and Carlisle do not exercise the good influence they should exercise among their people. Most of them sink into obscurity; and I am not putting it too strongly when I say that a majority of them go back to the blanket and the lazy and corrupting habits of the Indian camp. Why do they do this? Because returning to the camp, they find no work at which they may profitably employ their hands; and at the same time all the influences of family and race become active in the work of dragging them back to Indian life and Indian ways.

"Returning to the reservation the graduate of the Indian school goes back to Indian ways," say all the objectors to the Indian school system; and they add, "because the Indian cannot accept our civilization." I admit the truth of the fact stated, but

deny the reason given in explanation thereof. The Indian college graduate does not go back to savage life because he cannot accept civilization, but because after his graduation, when he returns to his tribe, he returns to a social condition in which civilization must necessarily perish—a stagnant social condition—a condition in which nothing that he has learned can be of any use to him. The tribe, under what I may call the land-in-common reservation system, does not advance or go back; it stands still; it is not progressive and it is not conservative, it is motionless—a pond of impure water with no inlet or outlet, the surface of which is never disturbed by moving keel, or foot of swimming bird, or motion of fish, or active wind, or gentle breeze. It is a condition of stagnation in which civilization cannot survive, and therefore is a condition which should be changed—not radically, with suddenness, but in such manner speedily that the civilization which the graduate of the Indian industrial school takes back with him to the tribe may survive and fructify, bearing good fruit abundantly. This may be done, not by suddenly abrogating the reservation system, but by compelling the Indian to cultivate ground allotted to him with the view of ultimately giving him a title to the ground he cultivates; by giving him a cattle range, and compelling him to raise his own beef; by compelling him to make his own weapons; to dress in civilized clothing made by himself, and wear boots and shoes manufactured by his own hands; chiefly by lifting from him the hand of paternalism and laying upon him the hand of the law. Returning to a social condition of this kind, the Carlisle boy would not go back to savage life, but by reason of his education would take his place at the head of his tribe and make it to lie down in the green pastures and lead it beside the still waters of Christian civilization.

In this connection I must make a suggestion. Dr. Rhoads told us, in opening the conference, that two-thirds of the Indian reservations were unfit for agricultural uses, and only fit for grazing purposes. Many thousands of acres of these lands have been leased by the Indians to cattle men, and on them the cowboy acts as herdsman. Out of the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation the cattle men and all their cattle have been driven by a proclamation, and the policy of exclusion may soon expel all the cattle men from all the other reservations. Hundreds of thousands of acres of grazing lands will thus be rendered useless, while the Government will expend hundreds of thousands of dollars in buying beef for the Indians who should be given herds of cattle and compelled to raise beef for themselves and beef for the market. This is an unfortunate condition of affairs. Must it be continued? Must the grazing lands of the reservations lie idle, unused either by white man or Indian? I hope not. Would it be contrary to the policy that dictates the exclusion of cattle men from the reservation to admit the cattle of white men to the reservations? Might not the Government say to cattle men, "You may contract with Indian tribes to graze your cattle on their reservations; you may take your herds to the line of the reservations and deliver them to the Indians under a contract to graze them for a certain time, and then round them up and deliver them to you at any place named in the contract"? I think this might be legally and wisely said. If I am correct in this, the grazing lands of the reservations might thus be utilized and the Indians be thus furnished with a profitable employment—employment as herdsmen. Thus might the school boys returning from the Indian industrial schools be supplied with work to do. In this way might the Indians be taught how to raise cattle for their own use, and employment as cowboys be given to nearly all the Indians of all the Indian Territory tribes.

There are a good many other things I might say, but I must conclude my speech, which, unfortunately, has been dullness long drawn out; and I conclude with an assertion of my belief that President Cleveland's administration will go far in the direction of a solution of the Indian problem; will do much towards solving the Indian riddle and making safe one of the most dangerous roads along which our statesmen have been compelled to travel ever since the foundations of the republic were laid.

I remember that on the day Mr. Cleveland resigned the office of governor of the State of New York, a gentleman led into the executive chamber at Albany a little boy, a son of his, and said, "Governor Cleveland, this is a blind son of mine. He is a student at New York in a school for the blind, in which you used to be a teacher." The governor took the boy by the hand, and said, "I am glad to see you." The boy replied, "I wish I could see you. I heard so much talk about you and I wanted to come here. I wish I could see you." The governor was so affected that tears welled up in his eyes, which looked kindly down upon the unfortunate boy who stood there in darkness that would never know a ray of light.

Years before, in the school in which that boy was then a pupil, the man who is now the President of the United States had taught blind boys and girls how to see with their hands all the beauties of literature—had led them from the starless darkness of ignorance into the broad daylight of knowledge. He has now a more difficult task to perform. He is asked to lead more than a quarter of a million of human beings who are blind, to all the blessings we enjoy; who are living in the darkness of ignorance, out of that darkness into the broad light of Christian civilization, and open their eyes to all the now unseen glories that surround them. I hope he will be en-

abled to do this, and that before he retires from the high office he fills, the Indian, as well as the white man and the negro, will stand in the dignity of manhood, clothed with citizenship as with a garment, master of his own destiny, holding in his hand the ballot and having the right to say at the ballot-box, "I consent," and "I forbid," to say to public officers of high and low degree, "You may," "You must," and "You shall not." [Great applause.]

General ARMSTRONG. I was all through the Indian Territory several years ago, and I believe the lands there have great possibilities as to grazing and to cattle raising. The Government is giving the Indians of the wilder tribes $400,000 worth of beef yearly, and they can raise it all. Major Hunt's idea was to have the Government put a small portion of this sum into cattle, to be fed upon those unused pastures, thus training the Indian to work, saving a great deal of expense to the Government, and ceasing to pauperize the Indians. Turning the Indian resources to account is an excellent idea. I have great hope from Mr Oberly's work in that direction. In regard to the Teachers' Conference, much good could be done by drawing the teachers and superintendents together. This is the very thing to do. We have found no difficulty about text-books at Hampton, though some used elsewhere are absurd. Mr. Oberly's point was well made with reference to so using rations as to promote attendance at school. I think Mr. Oberly's views are right. In 1881 I went to Dakota, and have since visited nearly all the reservations this side of the Rocky Mountains, and one thing has struck me—the argument to the stomach is powerful. It is to that part of the man we must appeal, and we must put it in the power of the agent to use this sort of an appeal. Even in the present condition of things great good is being done under the authority issuing from Washington, which Mr. Oberly has spoken of. He spoke of schools where boys do washing and house work, and all that. I have no doubt they do a good deal of that kind of work, but at some of the better class of Indian schools, in the best Government schools, excellent industrial work is done. The girls become too good for the common painted braves, but not too good for earnest working men. From Hampton we have sent out one hundred and forty-five pupils, and we have found that one-third have disappointed our expectations. Miss Ludlow and Miss Elaine Goodale have examined carefully what becomes of the returned Indians. There has not been one who has turned his powers against civilization; and while their surroundings have pushed some of them down to blanket life, two-thirds of them have been saved. A few have married whites, and a few have made good homes. I have a feeling that Mr. Oberly is to be the leading man in Indian education. From the force he has manifested here, I believe we can look to him. I believe there is a constituency growing all over the East who accept all these recent changes and blessings. If there is to be a new spiritual force put into the work, we shall look to Mr. Oberly for it.

Colonel MCMICHAEL. I would like to speak with reference to the attitude of President Cleveland. His position is that he proposes to execute the laws. His attention was called to the state of things among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. By leases which should pay the Indians in cattle and money for the privilege of grazing in their territory, and a few under color of losses of cattle, men had got into that country and possessed themselves of the best lands of the Indians, and this country was supposed to be on the brink of an Indian war. I had occasion to observe the attitude of the Department of the Interior in regard to this. They said a treaty should be executed; that the leases were not strictly legal, so the President decided to send out General Sheridan. General Sheridan recommended that as the cattle men were intruders they should be turned out, and President Cleveland turned them out. So far as the general subject of Indian civilization is concerned, I think we have in some respects exaggerated its difficulties; and the advantage of having a sincere and honest man at the helm, like the gentleman who has spoken this morning, is just this, he is able to apply a critical spirit to this system, or want of system. I have the impression that matters can be simplified. We make the work too difficult. But we don't give enough credit to the Indian. What have the Indians of the civilized tribes done? They have schools, a representative government, an executive who rules over them. They have a system by which, as I understand, there is no pauper there. And what is it that they do not have? Why they do not have the avarice and the selfishness which are necessary to the acquisition of private property. Do not let us underrate the Indian. Let us understand that the Indian is capable now of receiving civilization and the law. I should be in favor of the immediate expansion over those Indian tracts of the law of the territory, and of immediate citizenship, except that we must protect the Indian, not against himself, but against ourselves. For one, I thank Miss Fletcher for having pointed out how strongly we have been influenced by the spirit of trade and gain. We ought all to unite in favor of the Coke bill. That is the result of a conference of practical men. I thank Senator Dawes; I heartily approve of what he said. We ought also to give special attention to Mr. Lyons's suggestion in regard to the practical arts of farming. I would call attention to the possibilities among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes; if their lands are so desirable for

herding and grazing, why cannot we devise some scheme for a diminution in the expenses of the United States? I think that in the Senate of the United States, in the administration of the Government, and in the White House, we have friends who will co-operate with us in the purposes of this conference.

Senator DAWES. I think I should say something in the line of what the gentleman has said who has just sat down. Nothing is so important as that the people have confidence in those who administer the laws. Everybody knows that my political sympathies are very far apart from those of the present administration. But I have known Mr. Lamar: he came into Congress the same time I did, before the war. Mr. Atkins was there then, an old member of Congress when Mr. Lamar and I came, in 1857. Although we have been opposed to each other politically, we have enjoyed an unbroken friendship through the whole time. Before it was known who was to be Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Lamar came over to our side of the chamber and conferred with those most familiar with Indian affairs, and got their advice as to whether it would not be a good thing to make Mr. Atkins Commissioner of Indian Affairs. There were Republicans who, in the Senate, gave their hearty approval to that nomination. I want to say further, that in every one of the new measures adopted by the new administration, they have consulted with Republicans, and with those who have had the work at heart. It is due to the administration that they should have Republican indorsement. So far, they are entitled to the confidence of those who have the future of the Indian at heart. I go back to Washington with great confidence that the executive part of this Government will co-operate with us in all healthy, hearty measures. One difficulty in this problem is the necessary transfer from one set of hands to another, and it would have been disastrous to this cause if the administration had fallen into other hands than those who are in sympathy with us. I think it due to those gentlemen that this conference bear testimony to the confidence with which they have inspired us.

TRIBUTE TO HELEN HUNT JACKSON.

The Hon. Erastus Brooks spoke feelingly of the death of Mrs. Jackson, to whom reference had been made many times during the conference, and offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the members of this conference first called and now continued in the interests of the Indian inhabitants of the United States, have heard with profound sorrow of the death of Mrs. Helen Jackson. Her long and earnest work to secure the moral and mental welfare of the Indian race, her unselfish, persistent, and grand work, by her presence, her pen, and her intercessions for many years with the Government and people for their civil rights and personal comfort, presents an example of devotion to and faith in a great public service not excelled in the single life of any one citizen of the country. In her last days, and just when she counted as by the clock the limited hours of her earthly existence, in words of thanks to the President of the United States, in appeals to the people through the press, in letters to her many friends, as well as in her work known as the Century of Dishonor, recording the dealings of the Government with the Indian tribes, and in her more recent volume known as Ramona, illustrating Indian life, character, and sufferings, she has awakened the popular conscience as never before to a sense of the wrongs inflicted upon a whole race, and that race not only native to the soil and known as its first inhabitants, but yet, as a people, neither recognized as citizens of the United States nor of the States of the Union, nor anywhere as persons in law and equity, by compacts or treaties, regarded as possessing constitutional or legal rights common to the rest of mankind.

Resolved, That the brilliant and useful life of this truly grand woman still appeals to the people of the United States, to Congress, and to the Executive to continue and complete the work inspired by her pen, and labored for to the end of her life.

Dr. WARD. At the suggestion of Dr. Abbott, in whose paper Mrs. Jackson's story, Ramona, was first published, and representing the paper in which her Century of Dishonor was published, I rise to second those resolutions. She was a woman I knew well and respected heartily. I believe her example is one to inspire not only every woman to a grand zeal for the Indians, but every man as well. I don't need to speak at length in reference to her character; she gave her whole heart to the work. If any one ever praised her story as a work of art, without any reference to the Indian question in it, then she said, "It is a failure." She worked grandly for the cause, and I believe we should express our respect to her memory.

Professor PAINTER. I have just received a letter, with mention of Mrs. Jackson, from J. W. Davis, of Boston, with whom I visited Mrs. Jackson only a few days before her death. I was an entire stranger to her, and the nurse said she was so feeble she could not see me, but when she received my card I heard her exclaim, "Oh! Is it Mr. Painter? Show him in." This people lay heavily upon her heart. She told me she had put her life almost into that book Ramona. She was a little apprehensive that the artistic

part of the book might possibly overshadow its philanthropic purpose, and she gave this charge to us, that the rights, the interests, and the wrongs of the people whose history she gives should receive our constant attention. The general impression that she has idealized the facts, as well as the characters, is a wrong impression. I wish that with that book might go her report to Congress, for that report of facts is but the skeleton around which she hung her beautiful story.

General WHITTLESEY. On this occasion it is proper to say that last Saturday I had a conversation with Commissioner Atkins, in which I asked him what measures he had taken for the Indians of Southern California. He said he was trying to inform himself fully in regard to them. Among other things he was reading the book called Ramona, and it was stirring up his mind in behalf of those Indians. I told him that I had read it, and that it did not exaggerate in the least the wrongs of the Indians in Southern California. I asked him if he had had his attention called to the report of Mrs. Jackson two years ago to the Secretary of the Interior. He made a memorandum of it and said he would take it with him to the Indian Territory next week. I asked him what we could do here at this conference to strengthen his hands, and what was the purpose of the present administration with regard to the Indians. He said, "You can assure the friends of the Indian who gather there that, in the first place, the administration will be very firm in the defense of the rights of the Indians to territory and property of every kind; that we shall pursue with great earnestness the policy of settling the Indians upon their own homesteads, and push the matter of Indian education with all the means Congress will give us."

Professor PAINTER. Mrs. Jackson propped herself up in bed, took the last report she happened to have with her, addressed it to President Cleveland with the compliments of Mrs. Jackson, and said to me, "Give him my thanks for the Crow Creek matter."

President GATES, of Rutgers College. To me, the profound significance of Mrs. Jackson's life lies just here: We easily say she gave her life to the work, but I tell you this Indian question will never be settled till God sends deep down into the hearts of the citizens of the country just that spirit. It is going to cost sacrifice of comfort and of life to settle this question. The Sermon on the Mount is to be proclaimed statute law, and that is what Dr. Abbott meant, and I thank him for what he said. He always lifts me up to the mount of privilege when he speaks. Yet we all know that the growth of institutions and law must be slow. What holds us together when some hold the extreme views of Dr. Abbott and some want to go more slowly? We are held together because we are working together in sympathy with the views of thousands of Christian people. I was touched with Miss Fletcher's remark that she had been hungry with the Indians. It is so contemptibly easy to meet here in luxurious quarters and talk about the Indians, but there has got to be this earnest zeal, this warm giving up of the life. There has been a deal of that giving of the life to those neglected children of the frontier, and there must be more of it. The supreme significance of Mrs. Jackson's death was the consecration of her life. Sometimes light breaks out in a word. In reading my Greek Testament where it says, "I was naked and ye clothed me," it struck me anew. Miss Fletcher has lived there; Miss Robinson has been there; General Armstrong has been there; and General Crook is living among them. God give us grace to share in the spirit that has rendered the closing days of Mrs. Jackson's life the life of a saint. If we lived back in the past three or four hundred years, she would be sainted in the calendar. Let us have that spirit; it is the spirit of the gospel which sends people out to live a life of privation and drudgery. To give your life to this work is no light thing.

Miss FLETCHER. So much has been said, and so well said, that lay on my heart, that it seems as though silence were better for me, but I cannot forego the pleasure of bearing my testimony to the beauty of Mrs. Jackson's life. To work among these people saps close to the fountain of power of us women. The stress and the burden of these helpless ones she helped with all her power, and yet could not, in one short lifetime, lift the burden; the heavy hand of disease was laid upon her. My friends, work sometimes wears out the body, but the spirit lives and triumphs. She has passed on to a higher phase of work, inspiring us who remain to fulfill for her that which she was not able to do. I feel that the Mission Indians are the bequest of Helen Hunt Jackson, and if we love her and honor her let us be faithful, and complete what she has left us to do.

President FISK. I am in hearty sympathy with all that has been said. Never did better heart throb in human bosom than that of Helen Hunt Jackson. I first met her at a meeting of commissioners sent out to adjust the trouble with the Ute Indians in the heart of Colorado. Some one came in and said, "There is one of the brightest women in the world out there, and she wants to see you." I told the messenger to tell her to wait. When I went out I met Helen Hunt; it was just after her marriage with Mr. Jackson. She said, "I have come to this distant place that I might speak in behalf of the Utes." She was admitted to the conference, and such a magnificent

impression as she made I can never forget. We cannot fathom that Providence that takes such an one from us in the strength of her powers and influence.

Her weapon still was bright,
  Her shield was lifted high;
To smite the wrong, protect the right,
  What happier hour to die?

Our hearts lie buried in the dust,
  With her, so true and tender;
Let every murmuring heart be still,
As, bowing to God's sovereign will,
  Our best-loved we surrender.

The resolutions were then passed, the entire conference rising.

THE PLATFORM ADOPTED.

It was then moved and seconded that the platform, as presented by the business committee, be accepted and adopted by the conference.

President FISK said: I drifted into a colored church one Sunday morning; a colored man was preaching, and there seemed to have been some sort of a difficulty. He said: "There is always two sides to a question; we have the buttonites and the anti-buttonites; the silverites and the anti-silverites. And so it was in the days of Noah and the flood; they had the diluvians, who believed in the flood, and the ante-diluvians, who did'nt believe in the flood." I think we have reached that point when we are all diluvians. [Laughter.] We believe in a flood that shall wash away the wrongs of the Indians.

The platform was then adopted by a unanimous vote.

A SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. OBERLY. Mr. President, I would like to make a suggestion; the resolutions having met the unanimous approval of this conference, it strikes me that they will do good only by getting them before the public where they will attract attention. Now, how can that be done? I suggest, in order to do it in an effective way, and bring these resolutions to the attention of the President, and by that method to the attention of the people, that a delegation of this conference, of five gentlemen and four ladies, be appointed, and instructed to prepare an address, in which these resolutions be presented personally to President Cleveland. In this way the country will have its attention attracted to them.

Dr. WARD. I heartily approve of Mr. Oberly's suggestion, and I would make a motion that a committee of nine be appointed, of which the president of this meeting shall be chairman; that four other gentlemen and four ladies be appointed to attend to the matter, and I would suggest that the committee be appointed by the chairman.

The motion was passed. Subsequently General Fisk appointed the following committee:

Hon. Erastus Brooks, Hon. Albert K. Smiley, Rev. Lyman Abbott, D. D., Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Miss Alice C. Fletcher, and Mrs. J. C. Kinney.

Mr. BROOKS. I have been connected with the press a great many years, and I think if a copy of the resolutions be sent to the Associated Press for the press of the country, with a request that they be published, that that request would be responded to at once; and I make a motion to that effect. Passed.

The conference then took a recess until evening. During the afternoon the guests were given an excursion to Lake Minnewaska.

THE CLOSING SESSION.

At the beginning of the closing session, Mrs. F. E. H. Haynes, secretary of the Women's Executive Committee of Home Missions, of New York, gave an exceedingly pleasing and interesting account of a recent visit to Alaska, during which she visited the mission school among the Indians.

The Rev. Dr. Kendall, at the request of Mrs. Haynes, spoke further of the work in Alaska, giving many interesting and encouraging facts.

At the request of the president, Miss Fletcher told an interesting story of the building of a cottage on the Omaha Reservation by the ladies of the Connecticut Indian Association. The cottage is for a young married couple, Philip and Minnie Stabler, who were educated at Hampton. It was built in consequence of a suggestion made by Miss Fletcher at the Mohonk conference of last year, the object being to equip the couple with a civilized home, in order that the savage tribal surroundings, which they would otherwise have to meet, might not drag them back into savagery. It is an experiment which promises the best results.

THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA INDIANS.

Professor PAINTER. Mr. President, I was requested by the Indian Rights Association, whose agent I have been some time at Washington, to take a trip out through the West and look up some matters, and among other places I went to Southern California to look into the condition of the Mission Indians. Passing through the Indian Territory, I visited a number of tribes, and from there I went on through New Mexico, Arizona, Southern California, then went among the Piutes on the reservation and scattered down the railroad, then into Idaho, and among the Bannocks and Shoshones, then to the Modocs to see what has been done there under the lead of our Quaker friends. Those people have divided up that little reservation, each with his little farm and his little crops. Most of them are Christian men; and I found that something can be done for the Indians, even upon a reservation. But I went down especially to the Mission Indians in California. These Indians, known as the Mission Indians, are living, some of them, upon old Mexican grants. The Mission Fathers, when they came to California, built a number of missions at different points, gathering the Indians about these for an education, and to teach them industries. So they became self-supporting, and Christianized, according to the ideas of the Catholic Church. The country was then all unoccupied, and nobody cared how much land was claimed, so that large sections of the country were attached to the mission. In 1824–1833 the Mexican Government secularized these missions, leaving only a small part of the land that had been claimed for the mission in connection with the mission buildings. These lands occupied by the Indians never were legally granted; they were to be the permanent possession of these Indians. When we came into possession of the country, the titles of those old grants were doubtful; they were in dispute. The lines were run with great vagueness. Government sent a commission, in 1856, who invited the claimants to those grants to appear and make good their titles or they would lapse. The Indians were not invited. Those of you who have read Ramona will recall one instance. Certain Indians were in a most beautiful valley, and supposed their title to be beyond dispute. There had been an especial arrangement made with them. The first intimation they had was the appearance of the sheriff with an order of ejectment, not only to take possession of the lands, but to pay the costs out of property of the Indians. This is the condition of a large number of these Indians' titles to these lands—they lapsed because they did not appear before the commission to make good their title. There was still considerable land, but it passed out of Indian control upon purchase by white men, they pushing the Indians off the lands. The treaty holds these lands to be the property of the Indians. A gentleman of San Bernardino, who had purchased one of these grants, brought a suit of ejectment to remove the Indians from the grant. The United States took up the case to defend the Indians' title. We were looking forward to the issue of that suit with much interest, involving the title of about fifteen hundred Indians, and money to the amount of about $200,000. We were told that the Indians were in possession, and that if the suit was not pressed it was the loss of the man who had purchased the grant, and therefore it made no difference to the Indians; but surely this was not the case, for they were being pushed from those old grants at many other points. I went to see the lawyers who had charge of the case, to know why the suit was not brought to issue. I found that the senior partner had gone out, and a new firm had been formed, and the case was decided against the Indians on default. The friends of the Indians down there do not doubt that the lawyers sold out the case. I wish to read a petition which the Indians have drawn up and sent to Washington, which tells the story in their own way. It was written in Spanish, and I give you the translation. [The petition was read.]

Now that is just the condition of those Indians. Some of them are on Executive reservations, the title to which is uncertain, and they are being pushed aside. Many of them are able to read and write. I had conferences with them, and it was touching, even to tears, to hear the stories they told of being crowded and driven from their lands, or told they must not keep stock, for the people don't want them to eat the grass. I see no deliverance from these things, unless the Government will take up the matter, and do what I asked the Commissioner to do—send some reliable man from the East to defend the title of the Indians to these lands. I said, "These Indians have rights, or they have none. If they have rights, it is time the land was given them. If they have no rights, I don't see why we send agents there, for the Indians are as competent to support themselves as white men." There are only a few thousands of these Indians left in Southern California. In 1851 there were 13,000 in the one county of San Diego, now there are not more than 3,500 in all Southern California. These are the people for whom Mrs. Jackson labored, and for whom she gave, in a certain sense, her life. She has left behind her an earnest prayer that the cause of these Indians shall be taken up. I wish something could be done by this conference to bring the attention of the Government to this people. It is a shame, that in this Christian country, and with our boasted institutions, this people should be treated worse than

under the old Mexican Government. The schools don't amount to much. I understood that the school at Anaheim, which I believe is under the care of the Presbyterian Church, had only four or five girls in it; it had good teachers but no pupils. The influence of the Catholic priest is felt there. I found in some of the day schools of the reservations that they had good teachers but no pupils; in other places they had overflowing schools but no teachers. Very little is being done for their instruction. Many of them are being driven out. This is the case also with the Piutes, a large number of whom are scattered up and down the railroad, who will not go on the reservation. There are Indians in certain places who will never go upon any reservation. If the attempt was made to put them on the reservation they would take to the mountains. They are supporting themselves, and don't want any help. But their children are growing up in ignorance. It would be wrong to take these people who are supporting themselves and put them on a reservation; but they will perpetuate themselves, and I think something should be done.

Question. Would they permit their children to go to school?

Professor PAINTER. I think they would. It is a question what should be done; but something must be done, by church or State.

Mr. OBERLY. Did you communicate these facts to the Indian Bureau?

Mr. PAINTER. Yes.

Miss COOK. We have done it for four or five years, right straight along.

Professor PAINTER. The San Ysabel Indians have been notified that they must take their stock off from that ranch; that the man who claims it is going to put cattle for three dairies on it. I talked with an Indian who said he was going to stick until removed by an officer authorized to do it.

Mr. OBERLY. Wouldn't it be well for this conference to pass a resolution to this effect, that this conference respectfully and earnestly calls the attention of the Administration to the condition of the Mission Indians, and petitions that immediate and effective steps be taken to protect them in their rights to the land they may have? That the lands they now occupy and possess they may have? If a resolution to that effect were adopted by this conference it would be presented to the President, with the other resolutions, by the delegation you shall appoint. I am sure if these ladies, who will make part of the delegation to the President, were to present to him the story of the misery of these Indians, and call to his attention the work that has been done in their behalf by the woman whose eulogy has been spoken here to-day, that he would be moved to take some steps with regard to them. I move that some such resolution be prepared.

The Rev. Dr. Kendall offered the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:

Resolved, That this conference respectfully calls the attention of the Administration to the condition of the Mission Indians of California, and petitions that immediate and effective steps be taken to protect them in whatever rights they may have to the lands they now occupy.

LETTER FROM SENATOR MORGAN, OF ALABAMA.

The secretary read the following letter from Senator Morgan, of Alabama:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August* 24, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR: I am afraid to promise myself the pleasure of accepting your kind offer of hospitality on the interesting occasion you mention in your note of 17th instant. It has been near a year since I was at home, and I expect to spend October in Alabama.

It would be very gratifying to me to attend the annual Indian conference. Good results will be almost a necessity of the meeting in this autumn. The country was never so prepared for a definite movement for the benefit of the Indians, and our knowledge of their wants was never so complete. Common-sense views of Indian affairs and a keener appreciation of our duties and obligations than we have formerly shown will now place them on a footing "before the law" that will soon secure their quiet and safe assimilation into the body of our citizenship.

There is now no hostile Indian tribe within the United States, and it is time we had applied to them the laws of peace rather than the laws of war. To apply to them any laws beside their tribal laws we must provide for them at least a qualified citizenship. The duty and benefit of obedience to our laws should be in some sense reciprocal. The Indians are jealous of their rights and have an acute sense of injustice. Right or wrong, this jealousy has often led them to hostilities, which with them always mean destruction to all enemies.

If they participate in the new governments we are compelled to provide for them, they will be less jealous of our rule, more obedient to law, and better prepared for our civilization than they are under existing conditions.

"The white man's road" crosses the Indian's trail at right angles, and he is not, as yet, prepared for the new journey. If our road leads more in the direction he has been going, he will follow it with less reluctance.

The broad highway of our civilization, which is the result of our citizenship and its regulating forces and constraints, is too wide to be, at present, attractive to the Indian; as Broadway, New York, is not an enjoyable place to the "cowboy."

We want for each tribe a simple plan of government, with few enactments, suited to the stage of progress of the tribe, in the enactment and enforcement of which they shall have a voice through a representative.

The Indian agent or inspector, an Army officer, and a chief or chosen delegate would make a suitable legislative and executive body for a tribe such as the Cheyennes. A government like that provided for the District of Columbia, with legislative powers confined to a few subjects, would do to begin with. I am only making very crude suggestions, from which you can gather the drift of my thoughts. We find in the five civilized tribes the highest proof of ability to govern themselves in strict accordance with our splendid systems of local and federal powers. They feel so strong in their power to govern that they are decidely averse to the "foreign rule" of the United States.

As to these nations (for they are no longer tribes in the Indian sense) our duty is pressing to extend over them the political supremacy of the United States. This is needed for their good and our peace. In what manner or form this should be done is a delicate question, but it should be done at once. They have reached the stage of civilization which entitles them to citizenship and presses upon us the duty of imposing on them the duties of citizenship.

The Constitution of the United States, which pervades our whole country, should be rendered personally applicable to these Indians. The appellate jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court (at least in reference to all constitutional questions) should be made available to correct the judgments of their highest courts of appeals.

A circuit and district court should be established in the Indian Territory, with proper arrangement of jurisdiction, and Indians, selected for intelligence and probity, should serve on juries there. But I am only on the margin of the subject, and am merely illustrating my idea that we must now *begin to govern the Indians in the name and with the power of the United States*, providing a form of government adapted to each tribe, if need be, and giving to them some sort of representation in making and enforcing the laws. The arm of the law will rule them when the sword will only slay them, and we ought not to withhold it. One more suggestion. I would establish military schools amongst the wilder tribes, enlisting males from say twelve to twenty years of age as cadets, to be educated and trained in the "school of the soldier," for a period of six years, with pay, clothing, and rations, and with the right to re-enlist, on better pay, at the end of the term, &c.

English rudiments, geography, and arithmetic would constitute the chief features of the course of instruction, united with technical instruction in the common arts. An Indian is, by nature, a devotee of military studies and arts. I would use that inclination, so fostering to his pride, as a means of teaching him discipline, a fondness for civil pursuits, the English language, &c. He would retain the affection of his people while traveling the "white man's road."

In your beautiful retreat at Cake Mohonk you may not find it irksome to look over these meager and ill-arranged thoughts. They are the outline of what I conceive to be our true Indian policy, and I present them in the confidence that you are willing to hear anything (that is advanced in a proper spirit) intended to benefit those people.

With sincere respect,

JNO. T. MORGAN.

Mr. ALBERT K. SMILEY.

After resolutions and remarks of hearty thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Smiley for their unbounded hospitality, the conference adjourned.

ROLL OF MEMBERS.

General S. C. Armstrong, principal Hampton Normal School, Hampton, Va.
Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor Christian Union, New York, and wife.
Hon. Erastus Brooks, State board of health of New York, West New Brighton, S. I.
Mr. R. D. W. Bryan and wife, superintendent Indian schools, Albuquerque, N. Mex.
Miss Burr, The Hartford Times, Hartford, Conn.
Miss M. S. Cook, Indian Bureau, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. W. W. Crannell, secretary E. N. Y. branch Woman's National Indian Association, Albany, N. Y.

Hon. John Charlton, Board Indian Commissioners, Nyack, N. Y., and wife.
Senator H. L. Dawes and wife, Pittsfield, Mass.
Mrs. J. B. Dickinson, president Woman's National Indian Association, New York.
General Clinton B. Fisk, Board Indian Commissioners, New York, and wife.
Miss Alice C. Fletcher, Peabody Museum Archeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. Addison P. Foster, Executive Committee, Am. Miss. Assn., Jersey City, N. J.
Hon. Philip C. Garrett, commissioner of public charities, State of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Delano Goddard, Botson, Mass.
President Merrill E. Gates, Rutgers College, and Board Indian Commissioners, New Brunswick, N. J.
Rev. Dr. John W. Harding, editorial writer, Springfield Republican, Longmeadow, Mass., and wife.
Rev. Dr. George A. Howard, Catskill, N. Y.
Mrs. F. E. H. Haynes, corresponding secretary Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions, New York.
Mrs. Augustus Hemmenway, Boston.
Rev. Dr. H. Kendall, secretary Presbyterian Board Home Missions, Boston, Mass.
Col. John C. Kinney, associate editor Courant, Hartford, Conn.
Mrs. John C. Kinney, president Connecticut Indian Rights Association, Hartford, Conn.
Hon. William H. Lyon, Board Indian Commissioners, Brooklyn, N. Y., and wife.
President Horatio O. Ladd, University of New Mexico, Santa Fé, N. Mex.
Hon. William McMichael, Board Indian Commissioners, New York.
President Edward H. Magill, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
Hon. John H. Oberly, United States superintendent Indian schools, Washington, D. C.
Prof. C. C. Painter, corresponding secretary Nat. Ed. Comm., Great Barrington, Mass., and wife.
Mr. Moses Pierce, trustee Hampton School, Norwich, Conn.
Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton, secretary mission work, Woman's National Indian Association, Philadelphia.
President James E. Rhoads, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith, Philadelphia.
Rev. Dr. M. E. Strieby, corresponding secretary American Mission Association, New York, and wife.
President L. C. Seelye, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
Ex-Justice W. Strong, Supreme Court United States, Washington, and daughter.
Hon. Albert K. Smiley, Board Indian Commissioners, and wife.
Mr. Alfred H. Smiley Minnewaska, N. Y., and wife.
Dr. James Carey Thomas, trustee Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., and wife.
Rev. Ame Vennema, pastor Reformed Church, New Paltz, N. Y.
General E. Whittlesey, secretary Board Indian Commissioners, Washington, D. C., and wife.
Rev. Dr. William Hays Ward, editor Independent, New York.
Mr. James Wood, president Historical Society Westchester County, Mt. Kisco, N. Y., and wife.

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WASHINGTON, D. C., *November* 10, 1885.

The committee from the Mohonk conference, General Clinton B. Fisk, Hon. Erastus Brooks, Hon. Albert K. Smiley, Rev. Lyman Abbott, D. D., Mrs. A. S. Quinton, Miss Alice C. Fletcher, Mrs. J. C. Kinney, together with Hon. William H. Lyon, Hon. Merrill E. Gates, Hon. John Charlton, Hon. E. Whittlesey, of the Board of Indian Commissioners; Maj. John H. Oberly, Superintendent of Indian Education; Mr. A. B. Upshaw and Miss M. S. Cook, of the Indian Bureau, were received by the President, and introduced by General Fisk.

Mr. PRESIDENT: We come here representing the late conference held at Mohonk to communicate to you their conclusions, and to interest you to go still further, and to express to you our hearty gratitude for what you have already done for the cause which is so near the hearts of these people here. We want no office and have no friends who want office. To Mr. Brooks has been assigned the duty of preparing a paper presenting the views of the conference.

Mr. BROOKS then read the following address:

To the Hon. GROVER CLEVELAND,
President of the United States.

DEAR SIR: The committee before you are here by appointment of the recent conference of the friends of the Indians held at Lake Mohonk, in the State of New York.

While we feel very sincerely, and upon the best evidence, that no personal appeals are necessary to awaken your official interest in the present condition of the Indian inhabitants of the United States, we hope through you to call the attention of Congress and of the people at large to just what that condition is. In your inaugural address you most truly said that "the conscience of the people demands that the Indians within our boundaries shall be fairly and honestly treated, as wards of the Government, and their education and civilization promoted with a view to their ultimate citizenship."

And among the recent last thoughts of the late Helen Hunt Jackson, given in a letter to you, were these words:

"From my deathbed I send you messages of my heartfelt thanks for what you have already done for the Indians. I am dying happier for the belief I have that it is your hand that is destined to strike the first steady blow toward lifting the burden of infamy from our country and righting the wrongs of the Indian race."

Everywhere the voice of an intelligent and philanthropic public opinion responds to this appeal made by one of the most gifted and unselfish women of the country.

The questions which, in the briefest reference, seem to us to demand the most immediate attention are those which relate to land and education, homes and families, and which in these relations seem to us to be what is now known as the new Indian policy.

The seizure of Indian lands is as old as the first settlements of the continent. We trace them to the earliest discoveries and settlements, Spanish, Dutch, English, and on the whole they show a worse practice in the past one hundred years than before. The pressure for the past fifty years has been upon the Western frontiers, and in all these years has been in the interest of gain and speculation. At no time has the real welfare of the Indian been the primary purpose of the white man. Neither the sacredness of Indian homes, nor of the family, nor the rights of persons, have arrested the advanced steps of those demanding Indian lands. The four hundred treaties, made from time to time with the Indian tribes, nearly all failed of execution, and all contracts and treaties were finally abandoned by the Government in 1871, and agreements, sometimes written, sometimes verbal, have taken their place.

What is now needed in regard to lands is severalty and individuality, with the protection of law for persons and families; and with this possession and protection must follow settlements in homes, land cultivation, and an end of wandering through valleys and forests, over mountains and rivers, in pursuit of game. The forests have been so substantially deprived of game as to make this reliance no longer possible for support; nor is this roaming from place to place in any way practical or desirable. The time has now come to limit this restless spirit of aggression and change, and to protect the Indian in fixed and well-defined territory; in a word, by prompt and faithful preparation and suitable education to make the Indian a self-supporting citizen, and with all the rights, privileges, and duties which belong to citizenship.

The seizure of Indian lands by white men and the want of law and power to protect the Indian in his own possessions have produced most of the wars and disturbances of the past one hundred years. These lands, in all in excess of 100,000,000 acres, are now needed for the industrial education of the Indians, and it is to be remembered that while there are millions of acres suited to grazing, not more than one-tenth of this land is tillable land.

The proof of ability of the Indian to work profitably for himself and for the Government is found in the fact that those who are the most civilized now have under cultivation more than 230,000 acres of land upon which in one year was raised 1,000,000 bushels of corn, 1,000,000 bushels of wheat, and nearly a million bushels of oats and barley, 103,000 head of cattle, 1,000,000 sheep, 235,000 horses and mules, 68,000 swine; and these figures do not include the products of 60,000 civilized Indians ready for Territorial government.

Of 265,000, 82,000 wear the clothing of white men, while the five civilized tribes live in 15,000 houses built by themselves. These tribes in every way are masters of their condition and seek no other support. The same is true of nearly all the Indians in New Mexico, and of thousands elsewhere. These tribes need more than all else protection in their agricultural lands, seeds to plant, implements of industry, and a proper education for their children.

While there is no lack of shrewd Indians, and very many who are idle, lazy, and vicious, even the best of them have encountered broken words, broken faith, and broken treaties, what else could be expected? Crime often goes unpunished on the Indian

reservations, because there is no law to punish it. On some fifty reservations the Government is pledged not to render justice between man and man, if the man is an Indian. Even the worst criminals have been set free again and again because, on the one hand, there was no law to punish even the crime of murder, nor any law upon the other side which allowed an Indian to recover, peaceably or otherwise, the money or goods which he had loaned to dishonest white men. No Indian can appear in court, nor can counsel be permitted him in court, except by special order from the Indian Department.

In view of this result some of their number have declared that they need just what the white man has—the force of law in their behalf as well as, if not more than, the preaching of the Gospel. What they most need is emancipation from this kind of bondage, and when fully emancipated and made free the ballot may be put into their hands. To secure what is here asked for must be the end of all merely tribal relations and reservations, and as speedily as possible the diffusion of the Indians in the United States, as largely in Canada, among the white race. More than nine millions of immigrants have been absorbed among the native American people. Six millions of negroes, practically made free by a statute, are now a part of the whole privileged population, and surely less than three hundred thousand Indians can be absorbed or diffused and in a domestic sense settled among the 55,000,000 of our American population. This result will come when their tribal relations end, and the man, the woman, the child, become the one family and are placed in real homes. Here, in the course of human events, is the certain and reasonably rapid advance toward civilization and full citizenship.

The successful example of the Omahas, where under the law, 76,000 acres were set apart and 954 separate allotments made to 1,194 persons, the wives receiving like allotments with the husbands, and leaving 55,000 acres to be awarded in trust patents to the children, are tried experiments which in two years afford proof both of what is possible, and what, when protected by law, will always be successful. Even where it may be easy to steal a whole Indian reservation, the broad seal of the United States Government given to one or more citizens in evidence of his home and birthright, will become inalienable, indivisible, and as enduring as time. Only the free will of the Indian, and the consent of the United States Government, can change a compact and contract like this.

In such a community the civil magistrate may soon take the place of the soldier, and what is now paid to support an army will be more wisely expended in the peaceful pursuits of industry, in moral and mental education, and in the settlement of great public questions, which for a century and more, which has been called the "century of dishonor," have disturbed the peace of the nation at a cost, all in all, of hundreds of millions of dollars in money, and of countless number of lives.

We leave these and kindred questions to the President, in the belief that it is possible by wise legislation, firm and humane administration, to emancipate, naturalize, and Christianize those whom you have already declared to be "the wards of the Government," and as such, entitled to be "honestly treated," and "by education and civilization promoted to ultimate citizenship."

Rev. LYMAN ABBOT. I shall attempt in a few words to put in my own language the principles embodied in the platform adopted by the Mohonk conference. It seems very clear that any Indian policy which will settle the Indian problem must be adopted by the consent of the people of the United States, and not by any one section of the country. It must be based on the assumption that humanity and justice and righteousness are not confined to any one section. The people of the West demand that in the interest of civilization the reservation system shall go. In that I believe they are right; but I do not think they have been right in the methods taken to break down the reservation. It should not be by money, fraud, bribery, or force; it should be brought about by a just policy adopted by the Government, and not by individual action. The white settler looks across the border and sees great prairies untouched by the plow. He sees thousands of acres of grass, capable of feeding thousands of cattle, with only a few ponies grazing upon them. It is the great quantity of unused land that tempts his greed, and so long as it remains unused greed will stretch out its hands to grasp it. We have twice the territory of Great Britain secured to barbarism. It should be secured to civilization. The Indians cannot be pushed any farther back on to some other reservation or place. The Indian is set apart, as it were, to barbaric influences. We put school-houses here and churches there. They are merely slits in a wall, through which the light is let into a dungeon. All that makes civilization for us—the daily conflict of man with man—is shut off. Partly in fear that he will go under in the conflict—he will go under without the conflict—we want to break down the reservation system and put the Indians in the midst of civilization justly, wisely, honestly, with full regard to all obligations incurred and with full regard to the essential rights belonging to the Indian as a man. There is no alternative. The only question is one of methods.

The Indian does not die off, and the indications are that he is increasing rather than decreasing in numbers. We are all familiar with the sentiment, "the only good Indian

is a dead one," but apart from all other considerations it costs more to shoot than to educate an Indian. The policy of bringing all Indians into one reservation has been suggested as an alternative. If any one can tell me where is a good place to put a boil on the body, I can tell where is a good place to put an Indian reservation. It is a sore. You say, gather the Indians into the Indian Territory. What do Missouri and Kansas say to that? What would we say if an Indian reservation bordered on our farms. No one wants to live next to an Indian reservation. It must be abolished, root and branch.

We want to see the Indian given lands in severalty and a homestead, and the rights that belong to manhood and citizenship, above all a home—the center and source of all civilization. I think I may illustrate our thought by referring to what we have done in respect to the negro. At the close of the war it was proposed to put the negro in a State by himself, but no one would advocate that now. Then the attempt was made to protect him by Federal forces; but by a long and slow process we have come to a much wiser policy. We say you must take care of yourself and be remitted to the local courts and to the local authorities for your protection. While he has suffered wrong, and while he has inflicted wrong on himself by idleness and shiftlessness and vice, the policy of leaving him to himself and to the locality where he belongs has been found to be the best policy for him. Just that we want done with the Indian race. We want the Indians treated as the negroes were. We want them given homes, implements of industry, education, the rights and protection of citizenship, and then we want to say we will not feed, or clothe, or pauperize you any more. You must take care of yourself and confront the civilization of the nineteenth century.

Several things could be done at once:

First. Some lands have already been allotted to Indians in severalty. The patents could at once be given them. Whatever necessary clerical work is required could be accelerated.

Second. Surveys are authorized for ten or twelve reservations. The administration can ask Congress to complete and perfect these surveys.

Third. Two bills, the Sioux bill and the Coke bill, have passed the Senate. Both of them look in the direction I have pointed out. We do not think that they are perfect, and we are not here to advocate any one particular measure; but the general principle of giving lands in severalty to Indians is embodied more or less perfectly in these bills, and we believe the administration could ask the next Congress to carry out this principle.

Fourth. Wherever treaties stand in the way of reform the present administration can negotiate for changes in those treaties. I do not see why the present administration could not do this at once. It is an Executive matter. The changes should provide for giving citizenship in the place of bread and clothing.

These are the principles which are embodied in these Mohonk resolutions. (We feel that this administration is the one to carry out this policy. You have won the confidence of the Indians by your action in regard to the cattlemen and the Oklahoma lands.) You have won the confidence of the people of the country. (We believe in your purpose and power to do for the Indians what is right; and we believe that you can go to the Indians and find a ready entrance to their hearts and their judgment in proposing the changes which seem essential to their well-being.)

General FISK. The resolutions embodied in the platform adopted by the conference at Mohonk are on this little sheet. I will not read them. We would be glad to have them receive your earnest consideration. Those were the conclusions reached by a very large conference composed of ladies and gentlemen from all over the land. They expressed the very greatest confidence in yourself, and we would be glad if it should seem best to you, in your first message to Congress, to recommend such legislation as would initiate such a policy in behalf of the Indians.

Touching the reservations themselves, Miss Fletcher has prepared a table which we should be glad to leave for your information. It shows the unfulfilled treaty obligations for the allotment of lands in severalty, the location and names of the reserves, &c., and cites the laws. It also gives the names of reservations established by treaty, which have not been surveyed and which should be. We think Congress should be asked to provide appropriations for such surveys at an early day, and for the survey of reservations established by executive order.

The PRESIDENT. I do not believe that there is much difference in the views of people as to the ultimate result to be desired and striven for in Indian matters. The trouble is to decide what is the first thing to be done. I find the subject in a complicated, perplexing, and intricate condition. We find Indians, as you say, almost on an equality with us in everything that pertains to civilized life, and we find another class of Indians who have made no advance, who break out into hostility, frighten all the people near, and set things back for years. The question with me is, how shall I pick out what is the first thing to be done. Instead of constantly looking at the ultimate end to be

reached, about which I do not think there is much difference of opinion, I ask what is the immediate thing, what should be done now. Shall we give them more schools and more farmers and farming implements and keep up the reservation life until the Indians are better prepared to take care of themselves, or stop it all and deed the lands to the Indians? How are we going to get rid of the influence of the old chiefs who oppose every step of progress and everything which would weaken tribal supremacy? There are many things to be done. We talk about discontinuing the feeding of Indians. No one wants that done more than I; but the moment that is done if there are any hungry Indians a cry goes up all over the land that they must be fed and the Army is called on to feed them and they are fed from army stores. That has been done within the last six months. If we do not feed them something happens and the Indians break out and they kill a few people, and you know what happens then.

What perplexes me is to know the right way toward the result of which you have spoken, the step which can be surely and which should be immediately taken in that direction. How about mixing the Indians with the whites? You would not drive the Indians from the reservations in their present unprotected condition. Is it not necessary, for a time, to keep them under some degree of tutelage; and, if so, how can it best be done?

The Indians are scattered over a great many reservations widely separated, and we seem to be trying to manage them at arm's length. Many people have raised the question whether it could not be done better under a more concentrated condition. With all the object is the same; the question is how to do it; what is the most valuable first step, how can we get the most benefit in the first year?

I myself have learned to acknowledge, and more so every day, the benefit which this Government has received and the obligation which it owes to Christian and secular teaching. Any one who ignores that instrumentality, merely in point of worldly wisdom, reckons without his host. I have great faith in that.

Ultimately lands must be given in severalty and the Indians thrown upon their own resources, but the question is meantime how best to prepare them for independence; and meantime the whites will be just as rapacious and greedy, and we should not do anything to make the Indians more exposed and open to that sort of thing. Perhaps if we had more concentration of the Indians we might better bring to bear upon them the forces which will prepare them for other and better things; but I have not thought on the matter or studied the subject sufficiently to be sure of one course or another. It will not do to disturb them in their homes to any great extent, and it might be injurious to the Indians to endeavor to concentrate them.

I do not expect to do all this year, and it may not be much that I can do. Although I should desire to do much and to place it among the achievements of my administration, yet probably I can only make a beginning. But I want that to be right, and I want to know what is the most useful thing that now can be done among the Indians and which must be done sooner or later.

President GATES. What you said in regard to education comes home especially to one called to that work. You have struck the keynote in regard to educational forces and the sure results which they will work out. Indian affairs are diverse. No man can understand them who supposes that they are all alike. The different reservations must be held separately in mind. A year and a half of close attention since my appointment on the Board of Indian Commissioners leads me to believe that all that looks toward the concentration of Indians will be against their civilization. Suppose these smaller reservations be wiped out one by one; suppose you get surveys made and order the allotments and deed the lands wherever a small tribe is ready for such action. When the larger reservations are opened provision should be made for schools. In Dakota public lands certain sections are reserved for school purposes. We want sections in these reservations devoted for that purpose, and we want alternate sections given to white settlers so that they will settle down among the Indians. Wherever Indians have been next to civilization, wherever they have had white neighbors, they have done better, of which the Omahas are a striking example. The fact that the lands are held by the Indians by an inalienable title will keep the worst class of whites from going on to the alternate sections.

There is a large section of territory gained by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and the Indians who came with that territory under the dominion of the United States are entitled to citizenship by the terms of our treaty with Mexico. Suppose you call attention to that fact in your message. I think the best way to fit an Indian of average intelligence for citizenship is to make him a citizen at once. Wherever the Indian has been trusted as a policeman he has responded to the trust. I believe he would respond to other trusts if they were conferred upon him. In holding fast to a system of education, in dealing with the Indians not as a mass but as separate tribes, in scattering them among the whites, in breaking up tribal relations, in doing this among the tribes, a few

at a time, some sooner than others, and all as fast as they are ready for it, in this, I think, is the line of hope.

Speaking for the educational interests of the country I desire to refer to the interest we take in your policy and the gratitude with which we recognize your attitude toward education.

The delegation then called upon the honorable Secretary of the Interior, to whom General Fisk spoke as follows:

General FISK. This party has come to express its gratitude that you are in this place. We pledge you all the support we can possibly give you, and would be glad to be instructed in any way we can serve you. We come from the outside world—a committee from the Mohonk Conference, representing largely the religious bodies of the country and the philanthropic element of the country. We regretted that you could not have been present at the conference held with the President this morning to hear the suggestions then made by this committee as to the Indian policy to be pursued.

The SECRETARY. I can give assurance that they will find the Indian Bureau, and especially my branch of it, in a state of perfect receptivity.

General FISK. We want to find out, if possible, how soon the patents to the Puyallups will be issued. For some reason their issuance was suspended by a former administration just as they were ordered. We ascertained that they were brought back from the Land Office by some order of this Department and that for several months they have been in this Department awaiting action. The Indians are very clamorous for these patents, and are fearful that they may lose their lands.

The SECRETARY. I will have an inquiry made and will take steps to hasten the issuance of those patents.

General FISK. The friends of the Indians are of course quite anxious to see the Indian in his own home, and the more we can get into homes with patents the sooner we can come to settling the problem.

The SECRETARY. I shall take occasion in my report to acknowledge the obligations I am under for the co-operation of philanthropic and benevolent associations and individuals in the work which I have to carry on. I presume at this time among those interested in the Indian problem there is but one object, and that is the ultimate civilization of the Indian and his adaptation to the wants of the civilization that is now surrounding him, and which will destroy him unless he is borne up instead of being borne down by it. I think a crisis has been reached in the history of this very interesting race that must be met by some methods different from those hitherto pursued. My own knowledge of the characteristics and wants of the Indian race is as yet too limited for me to feel competent to propose a general policy, which, in every particular, will meet the wants of the present, and at the same time be adapted to the probable exigencies of the future. There are, however, some landmarks in my mind to which I have arrived, and by which, so far as I can control the policy of the Government will be directed.

I am inclined to think that the process must be one of improving the Indian out of his present condition into the civilization of the country, rather than the immediate abrogation of the present system. I think it will be a more gradual and tentative process than I did when I first came into this office. The first point should be to secure to the Indians their reservations (either as now located, or compressed into a shorter, smaller space) in fee-simple, so that their title can have protection, not merely of the supervising department, but also in the courts of the country, so that there shall be impressed upon the entire machinery of our administration the inviolability of the Indian title, whether that of the tribe in common or that of the individual. At the same time I am not prepared to advocate the dividing up of the entire reservation among the Indians. I think that the abandonment of the reservation system at this time would be premature. It is the end to which we should move, but the first step should be, after bringing the Indians, with their consent, into more proportional limits (I mean proportioned to their numbers), to protect them from the influences which surround them—the invasion of civilization, the destructive influence to which a stronger civilization subjects them. A very rigid system of exclusion of whites from their borders ought to be enforced. After the title to the reservation is given to the tribe, and after it has been partially subdivided into separate tracts of land and each Indian has been secured in his title to his separate section, there ought to be a very considerable portion of the reservation still left undivided and undistributed.

I will not go into my reasons for this (and I might say that these are impressions gathered by me in the short intervals between the visits of the triumphant and militant democracy), but I think that in the transition state—the most dangerous of all states—the tribal system must be adhered to. It is the normal condition of the existence of this race. It is the polity, and the only one known to the Indian race. To take him out of it is to change his social conditions, his religious and hereditary impressions, be-

fore he is fitted for the higher civilization. I am conservative, and I have been made so by a costly experience. We have the same object in view, and I shall push it forward.

As to benevolent and Christian associations, I would say that my observation is that the agency of the Government and the efforts of the philanthropists, while very important, are all subordinate to another agency. I am doubly impressed with the belief, and it grows stronger with each day, that the Christian religion, with its influence on character, on motive, and on conduct, is the instrumentality for the elevation of this race. The infusion of a spiritual motive is the thing that is to redeem them from degradation. I know this from my own experience in the South, my knowledge of the tribes in the Indian Territory. One fact in regard to them has not been properly emphasized—the fact that while in Georgia, in Alabama, and in Florida missionaries, plain, disinterested men, with exactly the spirit of the Master, worked and lived among them, and with self-sacrifice instilled into them the ideas out of which has grown all that civilization which is the admiration of all who have visited the five civilized tribes.

Mr. ERASTUS BROOKS. The President stated frankly his embarrassments in dealing with the Indian question, and I would suggest that you listen to a memorandum of what we propose to suggest to the President, which has been prepared since our interview with him this morning.

The SECRETARY. My idea is that the Indian cannot stand it to be thrown out unprotected into the civilization of this country. It would be almost as bad as a war of extermination, and until he is fitted to protect himself he should be kept under reservation influences, and the tribal system should not be entirely broken up. The transition state is the best for him at this time.

General FISK. You also believe that it is best to hasten that transition as fast as possible?

The SECRETARY. Yes; to improve him out of one condition into the other.

Rev. LYMAN ABBOT. The line of your thought indicates perhaps what has been a division of thought among those engaged in the Mohonk conference, all being agreed that it was desirable, as speedily as possible, to get the Indian out of the reservation and make him a citizen, subject to the local courts, but some thinking it could be done more speedily than others. That was the only difference of opinion.

The SECRETARY. I will act with both sides. Those that are ready I will push on, and those that are not I will protect.

Mr. ABBOT. I would like to emphasize this, that there are quite a number of Indians now who desire to get lands in severalty. It is safe to assume that they are ready for it; and we should push them forward and give lands to them, wherever Indians desire it. We should also open negotiations with other Indians to induce them to consent to take lands in severalty.

President GATES. It is necessary to note the vast difference between Indian tribes. Some small ones are now ready to be citizens, and their reservations are now ready to be opened up. Is not this the line we should follow, by allotting the small reservations as fast as they are ready?

May we make inquiry, without intending criticism, with reference to the Mission Indians in Southern California? It is said that there is a line of encroachment steadily pursued on these Indians and that measures are not actively taken to protect them.

The SECRETARY. We will try to provide against such encroachments, and are taking steps in that direction.

President GATES. Is there any value in the suggestion which has been made that the Indians who came under United States rule by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Pueblos and others, have the right to plead their position as American citizens?

The SECRETARY. They are not ready to do that. They are a low and illiterate class of men, and need a great deal of protection, and I think they are disposed rather to avoid the rights of citizenship than to assert them. They dread taxation, and say that their little estates would be swallowed up by it. In discussing the condition of the Indian I would say that we are not looking to the interests of the white people at all in dealing with him. We could solve the problem as far as we are concerned by making him a citizen and giving him the right of suffrage. After swallowing four million black slaves and digesting that pretty well we need not strain at this. We could do that; but in my opinion it would be most sad service to the Indian, and there would not be much of him left if that were done suddenly. These Pueblos are not capable of taking care of themselves. I have sent word to the authorities of New Mexico not to insist on the taxes. I have discountenanced the idea of incorporating these people into a population that is ready to snatch every foot of land they can get hold of.

Mr. SMILEY. The lands of the Mission Indians are being taken away inch by inch. They have a perfect right to the land, but there is no one to protect them in the courts.

There was a test case, and General Whittlesey and I encouraged a lawyer to take up the case, but it has gone by default. It has not been a fair trial.

The SECRETARY. The Supreme Court has rather squinted at the idea that these Pueblo Indians are citizens, and the laws of New Mexico so regard them.

President GATES. I am not one of those philanthropists who think that the Indians can become citizens without getting hard knocks on the way.

The SECRETARY. I think there are Indians who can make a stand in this country who are capable and stalwart, but not those of whom you speak. I cannot go very much into this question. I am reminded of an anecdote of a young lawyer who was practicing before the Supreme Court. After he had presented the facts and arguments in his case the judge began to ask him questions about it. "May it please the court," was his reply, "I have stated about all I know on this subject, and any further questions will simply elicit what I do not know."

The following letter was addressed to the President in reply to his request:

To the PRESIDENT:

DEAR SIR: At the recent visit of the delegation from the Lake Mohonk conference to confer with you respecting Indian affairs we were very glad to hear your expressed conviction that all who have given much thought to this subject agree with the conclusions of that conference, that the abrogation of the reservation system and the citizenship of the Indian are the two great ends to be steadily kept in view and immediately, vigorously, and continuously pursued; and we agree heartily with what you added, that the subject is embarrassed with many and great practical difficulties. You were kind enough to ask the delegation to offer you any suggestions respecting the best methods to be employed in meeting these difficulties, and the first steps to be taken in pursuing the ends which we all have in view. Acting upon this suggestion, the delegation met at once to compare their views upon this point, and which had been the subject both of their thoughts and their deliberations prior to this time, and requested me to embody their suggestions in a letter to you. In making these suggestions, in compliance with your request, we do so with a full sense of the difficulties of the situation and the necessity of evolving each measure in the progressive development of a just and humane Indian policy out of the results obtained by the measures which have preceded; yet it is proper to add that our suggestions are not the product of a hasty or ill-informed thinking. All of our members have been engaged in studying the Indian problem for years. Some of our number are practically familiar with the results of various past experiments, both governmental and individual, and have had considerable opportunities for observation of and acquaintance with the Indians on their reservations. And we believe that such conclusions as we have reached with entire unanimity, and we state no others in this letter, may be regarded as embodying the conclusions of all those who have known the Indian problem most familiarly and studied it most thoroughly.

The Indian question is partly administrative, partly legislative. In so far as it is administrative we have nothing to urge except expedition in every measure which promises to secure permanent tenure of land in severalty to those Indians already entitled to it, rapidity in issuing patents where they have been provided for by law, and the greatest care in securing and retaining, both as agents and superintendents of education, men who are fitted by nature and, as far as possible by experience for the very difficult task intrusted to them.

We strongly and heartily second the purpose indicated by Mr. Oberly at the Lake Mohonk conference to require certificates of competence of all candidates for appointment as teachers and his plan briefly outlined for a convention of Indian school superintendents to discuss the problem of Indian education.

The legislative question presents greater theoretical difficulties. But certain things appear to us clear and of both immediate and pressing importance.

Congress has already provided by treaty a law for the survey in sections and quarter-sections of twelve reservations. The list of these reservations with reference to the laws is appended. We would earnestly urge the immediate appropriation by Congress of the necessary funds to carry out the provisions of these laws already enacted, and thus prepare the way to give land in severalty to the Indians who occupy these reservations and to throw open the unallotted land in them to settlement.

We earnestly recommend the adoption by Congress of a law conferring upon the President power, in his discretion, to cause surveys of other reservations and the allotment of land in severalty to the tribes occupying them as rapidly as their consent can be obtained, the purchase by the Government at a fair valuation of all the unallotted land in such reservations, the cash value thereof to be appropriated for the industrial and educational advantages of the tribe, and the opening by this method to settlement of the reservations so allotted and purchased. A measure embodying these principles has already twice passed the Senate at the last session, if not on both occasions unanimously, and

has also received the official approval of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the House, and we trust that it will only require the indorsement of the Executive to secure its final passage by the Forty-ninth Congress.

Of course all Indian titles should be made inalienable for a term of years, all Indians taking land in severalty should receive the full protection accorded by the law to other citizens, and as soon as any tribe is fairly equipped in individual homes and made competent for self-support, all annuities should cease.

In addition to these measures, which we think might properly be urged upon the immediate attention of Congress with a reasonable expectation that they would be promptly and with substantial unanimity passed, we respectfully submit to your consideration a third, which is the result of a considerable degree of consideration and discussion on our part.

We are thoroughly convinced that with comparatively few exceptions the Indians can be prepared for land in severalty and the perils and protection of citizenship as rapidly as the Government can well provide the necessary surveys and allotments of land; that as a rule it is safe to throw upon his resources and the protection of the local community, with the added safeguards of the United States courts, any tribe of Indians who are ready and willing to accept the boon and the burdens of civilization.

We therefore unite in recommending that Congress be asked to provide for the creation of an executive commission, to be appointed by the President, to open negotiations with the various tribes, as rapidly as in the judgment of the President is compatible with the safety and well-being both of the Indians and their white neighbors, in order to secure their consent to the abrogation of the reservation, to land in severalty, to the cessation of annuities, and to the citizenship of the emancipated Indians.

We believe that the time is fully ripe for the inauguration of such a policy. This is no sudden conclusion; we have come to it gradually, as the result of study and deliberation. And it is our profound conviction that this administration can render no greater service to the nation than by inaugurating, and if possible carrying through to its consummation, a policy which shall solve the Indian problem by emancipating the Indian from his present condition of pupilage and pauperism, and his white neighbor from their alternate experiences of terror and of wrath.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CLINTON B. FISK, *Chairman.*

F.

JOURNAL OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF MISSIONARY BOARDS.

The Board of Indian Commissioners held its annual meeting in the parlor of the Riggs House, Washington, on Thursday, January 21, 1886. There were present General Clinton B. Fisk, N. Y., chairman; General E. Whittlesey, secretary of the Board; Albert K. Smiley, Lake Mohonk, New York; Dr. Merrill E. Gates, president Rutgers College, New Jersey; Mr. John Charlton, Nyack, N. Y.; Mr. John K. Boies, Hudson, Mich.; Mr. W. F. Johnson, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Thomas J. Morgan, Nashville, Tenn.; William H. Lyon, New York; Rev. Dr. Henry Kendall, secretary Presbyterian Board Home Missions; Rev. Dr. F. F. Ellinwood, secretary Presbyterian Board Foreign Missions; Rev. Dr. Arthur Mitchell, secretary Presbyterian Board Foreign Missions; Rev. M. E. Strieby, secretary American Missionary Association; General J. F. B. Marshall, Unitarian Board; W. H. Morgan, State Normal School, Providence, R. I.; General S. C. Armstrong, Hampton Institute; Rev. Dr. R. R. Shippen, Washington; Mr. Justice Strong, Washington; Judge A. J. Willard, Washington; Rev. Samuel W. Dike, Royalton, Vt.; Rev. Dr. Sheldon Jackson and Mrs. Jackson; Rev. Dr. B. Sunderland, Washington; Miss Laura Sunderland, Washington; Richard F. Bentley; Mrs. Bentley; S. F. Tappan, ex-superintendent Government school, Genoa, Nebr.; T. A. Bland, Washington, D. C.; Prof. C. C. Painter; W. J. Lewis; H. J. Armstrong, ex-agent for Crows; C. E. Dailey; Mrs. Joseph R. Hawley; Miss Kate Foote; Miss Alice C. Fletcher; Mrs. D. O Wickham; Mrs. Darwin R. James; Mrs. Anna J. Herbert; Mrs. Caroline H. Dall; Miss Alice C. Robertson, Muskogee, Ind. Ter.

The meeting was called to order by General Fisk. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Ellinwood.

General FISK. The Board of Indian Commissioners has pleasure always in greeting friends at these annual meetings. For the information of such friends as have not heretofore visited us, I would say that it has been the custom for many years to invite rep-

resentatives of the various religious societies and friends of the Indian everywhere to meet with us for an interchange of views on this important question. We shall be glad to hear from the largest possible number, and after that a free discussion.

The conference elected Dr. Sheldon Jackson to act as secretary.

It was voted to appoint a committee of three to shape a programme and to present resolutions embodying the views of the conference.

Professor Painter, Dr. Strieby, and Dr. Bland were nominated by the Chair and elected by the conference to compose this committee.

Reports were called for from the various religious bodies as follows:

PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Dr. ELLINWOOD. Mr. Chairman, this is the first conference I have had the pleasure of attending, my senior colleague having represented the Board of Foreign Missions with the Indian conference year after year. The experience of the Board I have the honor to represent is not new nor recent, extending as it does over fifty years of regular continued work. Work during the past year has in the main been satisfactory in condition and progress. The gain in membership of our native Indian churches is about 15 per cent. Some of the churches, especially that at the Yankton Agency, might serve as models to the white man. They have at this agency been very zealous in different departments of work, particularly in a sort of home missionary society to which the church contributed very largely.

In the Seneca Mission, where the Indians are under the care more particularly of the State of New York, there has recently been a very encouraging revival. A missionary there told me he had recently baptized fourteen persons. This is more significant as being the fruit of the labor of an Indian preacher—not a highly educated man, but one possessed of an apostolic spirit and most successful in his work.

It has been my privilege the past year to visit the reservations connected with the Board of Foreign Missions—the Senecas, Chippewas, and Nez Percés—to study the tribes, their conditions and relations, with a view to considering future work, as well as that already done.

In considering day-schools as a means of Indian education, I find this difficulty among those I visited, and which I think may be quite general: the scattered condition of the Indians. To carry out efficient measures for educational work, it seems necessary they should be massed in such degree that they may be expected to attend school. Application was made for the aid of $7.25 per quarter, which I believe the Government allows for each Indian scholar in day-school for schools among the Nez Percés.

There were children to fill several schools, but we found that the children for each school were scattered over an area ten miles in extent. That was a problem difficult to solve. The Senecas are scattered in like manner. They do not live in villages now. They differ in this respect from people in foreign lands in which we are working. How to overcome this is a question. It seems necessary that the reserves should be contracted to such a limit as to bring the people nearer together so as to be reached by educational means without taking them from their homes and boarding them. We have found that the education of the children and the especial care of their parents must go on together to insure highest success. If the children are removed from their homes even three or four miles, when they go back the education they have received is soon rendered of very little effect. We have found among the Nez Percés that children who have learned English in school would rather speak Indian. In the family, where the religion is heathenism, the tendency is to overcome all Christian teaching.

We are just entering upon an experiment upon the Seneca reserve. We find there the difficulty in regard to day-schools. An industrial boarding-school is too expensive for our missionary board to undertake; that seems the province of the Government. There are 17 day-schools on the different reserves. We resolved in a conference recently held in Buffalo to throw helpful influences as far as possible around these schools, to seek the appointment of teachers in sympathy with the work, not to antagonize these State schools, but to help them. The experiment upon which we propose to enter is to send there two rather mature Christian women who shall live together, shall have a horse and carriage and go about the reserve, taking with them an Indian woman educated at the orphan school, going from house to house, something in the manner of what we call "Zenana work," going into the homes, inculcating not only religious teaching but ideas of tidiness, of house decoration even, teaching them to bake bread, to keep a garden, &c.; teaching the children; reaching the men if possible. On that reservation it is found that where children have been educated in good Christian schools they have a lack of common sense to adapt themselves to every-day life. They have an abundance of good land, but instead of staying on it and cultivating it for a living they go away and pick

berries for the whites for two cents a quart, getting more or less whisky, keeping up gambling, uncertain modes of life. We want to teach these men to plant their own berries and instead of getting two cents a quart get all the berries are worth.

Considering the scattered condition of the people, I think something of this kind is better than taking them away from their homes, making parasites of them, instead of that taking the people where they live, getting hold of the old Indians. Encourage the children, give them a dinner, if necessary, as an incentive, but reach them at their homes. I will not take more time, but yield to my colleague.

Dr. MITCHELL. Having taken from the hand of our senior secretary, Dr. Lowrie, the Dakota field, I have visited that field, but Dr. Ellinwood has spoken fully of the work. My visit has only deepened my sense of the practicability of the work. A considerable number have been added to the churches at that Mission.

Expenditures on account of Missions to American Indians.

Chippewa Mission	$3,128 50
Creek Mission	4,426 21
Choctaw Mission	1,477 64
Seminole Mission	4,602 74
Seneca Mission	2,827 84
Dakota Mission	6,691 91
Nez Percés Mission	3,939 55
Omahas Mission	2,834 30
Winnebago Mission	768 00
Iowa and Sac Mission	653 50
Sac and Fox Mission	874 36
Total	32,224 55

PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS.

Dr. KENDALL. I propose to give you a few dry statistics first:

Indian work of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Tribes.	Missionaries.	Scholars.	Church members.	Amount expended.
Cherokees	12	200	235	$7,400 00
Creeks	11	91	57	6,400 00
Choctaws	10	55	86	5,050 00
General superintendent	1			1,200 00
Total Indian Territory	34	346	378	20,050 00
Pueblos	25	380	10	28,505 75
Papagos and Pimas	2	30		1,500 00
Mission (California)	2	5		2,200 00
Puyallup, &c.	3		393	1,700 00
Alaskans	20	360	125	21,613 44
Dakotas	14	65	365	5,353 44
	100	1,186	1,271	*80,922 63

*About $20,000 of this amount received from the Government.

SUMMARY.

Number of tribes in which we have missions	28
Number of organized churches	26
Number of schools	24

All the work of the past year has shown very fair progress. Our Board has had a very heavy debt carried over from last year, so we have had to take much of our receipts to pay that off. I want to beg the President to let Miss Robertson speak on the work among the Creeks. In our work among the Cherokees we are pushing on, establishing schools gradually. Also going on with work among the Choctaws. Here as elsewhere among the five tribes there is a mixed population, whites, Indians, and negroes, so you cannot tell which are white, red, or black.

There have been several interesting revivals of religion. One church was organized

with fifty-seven members, only one of whom would on sight be supposed to be Indian, while all claimed rights as Indians.

In Alaska (I do not mean to anticipate Dr. Sheldon Jackson) we have gone on with work under serious difficulties, which we trust have passed away.

I am sorry and ashamed to say we have some scattered churches of which we do not know much and for which we have not done so much as we ought. We have two mission churches in Michigan, from which we have most meager reports. We have not looked after them as we ought. We have a church among the Stockbridges in Wisconsin. Their pastor, a noble man, died and we have not been able to supply his place.

Among the Puyallup, Nisqually, and Chehalis Indians successful work has been carried on. Perhaps the largest Indian church we have is one out there of two hundred members.

We have to inform you that the Government has given us notice that the arrangement in regard to the Albuquerque school will terminate on the first of July, concerning which, however we may regret it, we have nothing to say. They own the buildings and the land. It is our own fault. We could have had the land instead of the Government, but we were so poor we were afraid to take it. We ought to have put up the buildings ourselves, but we did not, and now, after spending thousands of dollars, we are turned out. They have their own views to carry out. The Department has declared the policy to be to run the schools hereafter themselves. At the same time they say they will not interfere with us; that is, where we have a school the Government will not establish one. They will not prevent any one else, Congregationalists, Baptists, Catholics, or any other denomination from beginning a school. I think that so far as our schools reach the Indian children they will allow us the $7.50 per quarter. I think we have learned a lesson of going forward.

Dr. STRIEBY. Did you spend money on buildings?

Dr. KENDALL. We have spent a good deal; for this we shall present a claim; don't know whether we will get it; probably we shall get something, but we shall not get back the money spent. I think we shall keep up schools among four Pueblos, paying teachers ourselves. You all understand how difficult our work has been there—the communities being generally Catholic and under the influence of the priests. We purpose sending out only good teachers, such as would be acceptable in your schools here, and they make their own way there. They are not persons we want if they are not able to draw children by their personal influence. In spite of the Catholic priests and, what is a great deal worse, the Mormon priests, we have made our way because the people thought we spoke better English. In New Mexico the people, seeing railroads coming, say, "My boy has got to learn English and to be able to do business. The white people are coming here; my boy must be ready." They have an idea that our teachers speak better English than the French and Italian priests, who speak English something as we do French and Italian.

I don't know a more hopeful field on the face of the earth than the Indian Territory. Such readiness to learn, such demand, such constant effort, is not seen elsewhere. There is the mixed population—the negroes, once slaves of the Indians, now free and made citizens; the white men who have gone in, renters, who will stay and whose children will intermarry with the Indians. There cannot be too earnest effort for the Indian Territory. You know that Territory is capable of sustaining a great population. We must do much for a people, a country, with such capabilities, and where there seems such a wonderful readiness on the part of the people to learn. Let me tell you of an old woman who had known the old missionaries, and who, coming many miles, leading her grandchild, to put him into school, but who went away sorrowful on finding that the old missionaries were dead.

General FISK. We shall be glad to hear from Dr. Jackson, who has been spending some time in a cold climate and whom we are glad to see out of jail.

Dr. JACKSON. The coldest point registered upon the thermometer last year at Sitka was 14° above zero.

The work in Alaska has progressed in spite of the great difficulties in certain directions. Sometimes it is well for success in commencing to get the bottom facts. As you all know, Alaska has now a civil government established.

The school fund of Alaska is mainly for native children. During the past year six or seven schools have been carried on from that fund, with a regular monthly attendance of about seven hundred. The Government has taken some of the mission schools, keeping the same teachers. In the northern sections, on account of the difficulty of receiving reports and paying salaries, the schools have been taken under contract. The Episcopal Church has taken a contract for a school at Fort Yukon, within the Arctic Circle. The mail for these people left Manitoba the first of December by dog-sledges, which, traveling every day will reach them in June.

The Moravian Church of Bethlehem have taken a contract from the Government for one of these extreme northern schools, and have sent out three men and two women to establish it. In August last one of these missionaries was accidentally drowned, the first martyr to the mission cause in Alaska.

The Presbyterian board have entered into contract for another of these far away schools. The Government in making these contracts requires first-class public schools and first-class teachers, only such as would be accepted in our schools here.

The civil government in Alaska at the beginning set themselves against the school work; one of them said in public that they would drive the teachers from the country. They tried, in every way tried, to raise a race prejudice between the Russians and the natives, tried to make the people believe that the land occupied by the schools at Sitka was needed for the town.

These men have all been removed, and the new appointees have started in well. The governor has told the Indians they must send their children to school, and he is determined they shall send them. He made it his first duty to investigate the charges against the missionaries and found there was no case against them.

Miss ROBERTSON. I am glad after the dark picture you have had from Dr. Jackson to bring you a brighter one from the Indian Territory. Some of you will remember my being here three years ago trying to get an appropriation from the Government to build a boarding school among the Creek full-bloods, and how I failed in that, but was encouraged to go to the benevolent people of the country for aid. This was done, the school was built, and has been in operation nearly a year. This school is upon the cottage plan; instead of one large building with the children herded in dormitories, they are placed in homes under the care of a house mother. Each of these homes is complete in itself, so that the children are not taught housekeeping theoretically but practically. A great interest was taken in the school by different societies and mission bands in the East. They furnished many of the rooms, young girls making the bedding, sending pictures from their own rooms, embroidering pin-cushions and tidies, adding the finishing touches that made the rooms, with their nice furniture, so bright and pretty that I dreaded to think of the result of putting those untaught children into them. I must confess to a happy disappointment, for I never saw rooms kept in such neat, dainty order as these were. At the end of the first term not a scratch marred the furniture, not one of the spoons or forks was missing. It was simply marvellous, the progress made by these children; no white children could have learned more rapidly. In the first three months quite a number learned to write very neatly.

This school is supported by the Creek Nation, under a contract with the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. The Creeks from their annual interest money pay $70 per scholar, the board managing the school and paying the teachers, and the parents of the children clothing them, except in case of very destitute orphans, where the board furnishes clothing. In this as in the other schools among the Creeks the effort is toward self-reliance, and not to encourage habits of dependence.

I think the tendency in considering the Indians is to look at them too much in the abstract, to think of them like men upon a chess-board by which some problem is to be worked out. We must remember that they are flesh and blood like ourselves; we must love them. In working for them we must not look down upon them from the height of conscious superiority, but go to them as our brothers.

We must be ready to put ourselves in their places, and question what treatment we would like to receive. It often hurts me to hear the Indians spoken of as though they were dumb, inanimate objects without feelings to be considered. Love alone can solve the problem.

FROM THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, FIRST MONTH 21, 1886.

Our work amongst the Indians during the past year has been confined nearly exclusively to those composing the Santee, Flandreau, and Ponca Agency.

During the past eight years these Indians have been under the control of Agent Lightner, and they have made rapid progress towards civilization and enlightenment.

Since our last report the Santees have all had their lands allotted to them in severalty, and a large proportion of them have already applied for, and some few have received, patents for the same.

Under treaty stipulations and an additional law of Congress on the subject, each head of a family of this tribe received 160 acres of land and also each other Indian, except married women, received 80 acres.

Thus the Santees have now allotted to them 69,100 acres of land, and the remainder of their reservation, about 44,770 acres, has been restored to the public domain and is subject to entry and settlement by white persons, so that in the language of Agent Lightner "we now have white settlers scattered throughout our agency, putting up buildings, breaking land, and starting improvements generally, with a view to opening up farms. I think as a rule the surplus land has been taken by a good class of

people; that their presence and example among the Santees will be of great and lasting benefit for general progress.

The crops at the Santee Agency last year were good. The agent reports their having raised about 14,156 bushels of wheat, 20,492 bushels of oats, 2,815 bushels of flaxseed, 47,627 bushels of corn, and 6,000 bushels of potatoes, sufficient for the tribe to subsist upon and to spare.

As a result of these Indians being self-supporting we have not felt called upon to spend much money in the Indian work this year.

We furnished a little towards making the aged and infirm, as well as the school children, more comfortable, and also sent some clothing to a tribe in Nevada.

The Flandreau and Ponca bands of Indians who are attached to the Santee Agency are doing well, and we think will soon be able to take care of themselves.

On behalf of the society:

CYRUS BLACKBURN.
RICHARD T. BENTLEY.

General FISK. I am glad to introduce now Dr. Strieby of the Congregational Board, that is doing such grand work among the Santees.

Dr. STRIEBY. We all know the great work being done by the Presbyterians, but I don't think I have ever been so impressed by the greatness and goodness of it as now. I feel like offering thanksgiving to God for the work that church is doing among the Indians.

Our most northern work is at Fort Berthold, where we have a missionary and two teachers and a day school. The Indians are so scattered that we have determined to establish a boarding school. At Fort Sully and Peoria Bottom, where we have a school and church, we hope to enlarge the work by a building accommodating teachers and pupils in a boarding school, there being no room left by the change of population for a day school.

Around the outlying stations, Cheyenne River, Rosebud, Pine Ridge, &c., we are going forward as our means will permit.

At Santee Agency a grand work is being done on the foundations laid by the Riggs and Williamsons. Mr. Riggs is doing a good work by the inheritance coming down from the father. We are soon to have the lack of facilities supplied by a new building. We have tried the cottage plan, and while we realize its advantages the expense is somewhat greater, and we have thought best to enlarge by putting up a building to bring more together.

The work at Santee is very prosperous. On the Pacific coast we have the son of the old pioneer missionary, whose father, Mr. Eells, still living, is a venerable and noble specimen of the old workers, and here too a good work is being done.

At Santa Fé, N. Mex., we have recently started a new work, a department for Indian children in connection with the school already established there. We have an order from the Government for assistance for maintaining fifty Indian children. There has been there some little embarrassment owing to a lack of funds, but we have now the assurance that means are provided. The part of our association is to provide teachers, and those we have sent are reported to be doing excellent work.

THE UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

General MARSHALL. I have been requested to report for our association. We have, I am sorry to say, no work at present. We have heretofore as an association met great difficulties on attempting work among the Utes, but we are hoping to renew our work either there or elsewhere. I have received assurance from the Department that they will co-operate in the way of making allowances for schools, but they want us to erect buildings. We don't like to build among the Utes; they are moved around so much that it is too uncertain to build there. We hope to report some work in the future.

Dr. SHIPPEN. General Marshall, whom many of you know as having been an efficient assistant to General Armstrong at Hampton, has now been appointed by the association as their special agent to represent the Indian work, and we hope now to go forward in a better work in the years to come.

General MARSHALL. In justice to the Unitarian Church I should say that while our association has done nothing, private individuals have not been idle and have given largely to Indian work.

General FISK. Dr. Reid could not find it convenient to come, and, as you request, I can only say briefly, of the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that in the economy of that church all the Indian work is embraced within some of its conferences. We have to report a like experience with the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. Our chief school has been taken by Government, it having been thought best by the new superintendent to transfer it entirely to the Government. It is thought that that will be the policy of the new administration, to keep all the work in its own hands.

Dr. MORGAN (for the Methodist Episcopal Church South). In the multiplicity of

my duties I have been able to give very little attention to this particular work. We have preachers among the Indians in North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Florida. We send preachers from year to year with a special view of caring for the Indians. In the Indian Territory we have an Indian conference, in which we have about five thousand Indian communicants and forty native preachers.

Miss Robertson spoke of excellent work now being done by Dr. Morgan's society in the Indian Territory, both in church and school matters.

General FISK (being requested to speak further in Dr. Reid's absence). Our church undertakes to do a little something everywhere. Our chief work that we are especially proud of is that at Yakima by Father Wilbur, who was the best Indian agent we ever knew anything about. Under his faithful labors six full-blood Yakimas have become successful preachers of the Gospel. It is a sad thing that this agency, with its magnificent outlook, has been turned over to the hands of a Catholic agent, while not far away a Catholic agency has had a Methodist assigned to them. We hope, however, to secure a change. At Fort Peck, as you are aware, our church has been doing good work. At several points in California we are carrying on work.

Mr. SMILEY. As there is no one here to report for the Orthodox Friends, I would like to say that our society has been doing more perhaps this year than ever before.

I have recently visited at Wabash, Ind., a large school where they have sixty Indian pupils. They have a very large farm of excellent land, cultivated by the boys, who raise immense crops. I saw these Indian boys clearing a portion of land and they were doing it in a most excellent manner. We have another similar school in Iowa.

Three hundred members of the Society of Friends are Indians. They hold their own meetings. One man who figured largely in the Modoc war in the lava beds, Steamboat Frank, is now a Quaker preacher. He is now at school at Vassalboro', Me., where I saw him last summer. He has been a missionary in Oregon, and is now receiving training that he may go back and do better work. He has changed his name to Frank Modoc. He preaches among the white people where he is with acceptance.

I do not know just the amount of money raised by our society the past year, but it is somewhere between fifty and one hundred thousand dollars. We have ten different annual meetings, each entirely distinct, and I have not the statistics.

Dr. MORGAN. Is the industrial feature made prominent in the education of girls at the Wabash school?

Mr. SMILEY. Yes; I saw the girls at work baking bread, sewing, sweeping floors, &c.

President GATES. It occurs to me to say a word as to the sympathy of Secretary Lamar, who is, I understand, a member of the church Dr. Morgan represents. You remember his earnest words of appreciation of the importance of these matters. I want to call attention to the remarks of President Cleveland on that same day, because while this period of transition is going on we are all anxious. You remember he said that any one who, in attempting to solve this intricate problem, should leave out the influence, I will say the supreme influence, of Christian effort, makes a fatal mistake.

Professor PAINTER. Allow me to supplement the remarks made about the work among the Modocs. I visited Steamboat Frank at his own home. I wish I could place before you pictures showing the contrast between Steamboat Frank's barn built by himself and one built by the Government official sent out to teach the Indians how to build barns. Frank's was a good New England barn, with everything complete, places for grain, for housing agricultural implements, &c., while the other was a tumble-down frontiersman's stable, partly covered with straw, partly not covered at all. I had the pleasure of meeting the Modocs and speaking to them. They all seemed to understand without an interpreter. In the past the mortality among them has been fearful, but I think they have reached the bottom, and their present outlook is most hopeful. They are scattered out on their farms. They would have their stables to-day if it were not for the mistake, the blunder, by which after a saw-mill was built, and the prairie covered with logs the Indians had hauled to have sawed into lumber, the whole thing was stopped because the appropriation committee, in order to be economical, refused to appropriate pay for a man to run the mill.

I saw nothing so encouraging in the Indian Territory as the progress among these people. It was natural development and growth, the power of their manhood asserting itself.

General Fisk spoke of an illustration of the power of prayer; that while a good Quaker woman in the Indian Territory was praying that she might be allowed to do something for the Modocs, they were brought to the reservation where she was laboring.

Dr. SMILEY. These Modocs were great fighters; the Quakers don't fight, so the Modocs were put onto them, and they were found a most hopeful people. These In-

dians organized a temperance society among themselves. The Maine law is not stronger in the rural districts of Maine than that they have.

General ARMSTRONG. I wish Captain Pratt was here to speak for Indian school work in the East. Some of us had a very unpleasant fear at Mohonk that Captain Pratt might be ordered away from the work at Carlisle, but this fear seems no longer in the air. It would not do to lose a leader like Captain Pratt. He has done more to civilize the Indians than any ten men in regular army work. At Carlisle he is constantly enlarging work, adding to agricultural facilities, &c. He has done much by aid from private individuals. While his is a purely Government school, this outside help is of great value because of the interest it awakens. The more people give to these schools the more real interest they will take in them.

At Hampton we have fifteen or twenty more Indians than last year. The work goes on satisfactorily; everything is hopeful. The annoyance we had about appropriations last year I think is over. The health question troubles us very little this year. We had a large death rate among the Dakota Indians from one or two agencies, from which Captain Pratt had refused to take pupils because of unsatisfactory health.

It is useless to speak of the progress being made. We are perfectly satisfied with the result. The general idea is that students returning to the reservations rush into a perfect maelstrom of barbarism. Among all Indians there is a progressive element. It is in those who return, and there are those who recognize this and help them. It is not a large element, but it counts for something.

Last summer I took the responsibility of sending out two of our teachers to look up and report upon returned students. With the exception of $75, furnished by the Indian Rights Association, the expense was borne by the ladies. They wrote letters for Eastern papers. Miss Helen Ludlow went out first, going to the agencies on the Upper Missouri, Pine Ridge, Rosebud, &c. Her letters were published in the Hartford Courant and in some Boston and New York papers; some of you may have seen them. Her point was to find out what had become of each Indian student. She took them seriatim; visited each one personally. Miss Elaine Goodale, a very bright and talented young writer, one who will probably be the successor of Helen Hunt Jackson in writing in defense of the Indians, went out later; she, too, wrote for papers, the Chicago Inter-Ocean and others. The two ladies received nothing beyond their expenses, and the idea of their going was not to glorify Hampton school, but to get at the facts in the case. Their reports have been printed in a pamphlet some of you may have seen.

Two-thirds of the returned students are doing fairly well to very well. One-third have relapsed, wear the blanket and go to dances. I don't know that Indian dances are any worse than civilized dances. The conditions at an Indian agency are ten times as difficult as under civilization. We lose 10 per cent. of the negro students we send out. It is wonderful that the loss of Indian students is no more than 33 per cent. To an Indian going back to the conditions existing at the agencies the struggle is a fearful one. Miss Ludlow put into her letters a cry for something for them to do. This most important fact has been established: that the Indians who have a chance turn to some account the training they have received. To the Indians the agent is their father, they must depend upon him for employment, and so we watch with anxiety changes in the Indian agents.

The money was subscribed by Christ Church, New Orleans, to build a cottage for a married couple; other cottages have been built, and we have five families who live in these cottages, who are learning to swim by going into the water, learning how to keep a house by actually living in one. Philip Stabler with his wife, after living in one of the Hampton cottages, went home and built his house just like it.

Dr. SUNDERLAND. I am rather a new hand in this business, not new in the feeling I have, not new in sympathy which I have for every honest worker, man or woman, whose object is to serve God and promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of the aborigines of our country. On former occasions I have been invited to be present at this conference, but have not before been able to attend. My being put forward in this Indian organization has been almost involuntary. I have been, as it were, toled along. There are other gentlemen present who can explain this new organization (The Indian Defense) better than I. We are to have a public meeting to-morrow evening, and shall be glad to have as many of you present as possible. I occupy the position in this organization that I do solely in the hope of promoting the welfare of the Indian tribes. I do not wish to enter into anything like a personal controversy, only to help the general cause. There will be, there must be, different opinions in regard to any great question. We must agree together to differ in a friendly spirit. I like this idea of the conference, of coming together, comparing notes, and getting intelligence from each other.

Judge WILLARD. I did not come to speak. I think it would be premature to undertake to develop at this time the object of the Indian Defense Association. I know nothing about the Indian question as an expert, and I find myself in the midst of ex-

perts in Indian character from actual contact in the field. We want a knowledge of what the Government can do and cannot do in order to find a basis for work. There are great difficulties in every department of work; the Government cannot administer moral influences.

Our children are placed under the control of guardians, the system works well; place them under political guardians, and the principal feature of the system would be corruption. The release of the Indian from political control is the first great necessity. We are trying to conceive of some way in which the political power may be taken off, by which the Indian may be released from political bondage. There are differences of opinion as to what shall be done; one difference is as to whether we shall immediately cast upon the Indian responsibilities he might not be able to maintain. For my own part I think that time should be given him to advance by gradual steps, through a gradual transition, looking to the citizenship of the Indian and his becoming a component element, but not attempting by act of Congress to transform him.

Mrs. DALL. May I ask whether the Government has been interceded with in behalf of the agents who have been removed where they were doing good work?

General FISK, It is not possible to do very much in such matters, though at times our influence has been such as to result in good; the political gentlemen are too much for us. They come early and stay late. The trouble has been we have not been advised about changes until they are actually made.

We have been very kindly received by the Executive and the Indian Department. I believe the Executive is sincere in a determination to do what is right.

Mr. MORGAN, of the Indian Rights Association of Providence. The great object of our association is to bring the matter before the people. I regard myself as being fortunate in being here to learn so many facts.

During the war I had between five and six thousand colored soldiers under me. I found I had to teach them, and I have watched the progress of the negro from that time with great interest. I think there can be no doubt as to the practicability of the elevation of the Indian. We must confess to the fact that we do not recognize the difficulties in the work of lifting up a people. When I realize the number of policemen it takes to keep in order the old city of Roger Williams, I think we should not expect too rapid progress of the Indian. If we ourselves, after all these centuries, have advanced no further, surely we should be patient with the Indian.

Two thoughts have impressed themselves upon me this morning; the first that it is important to take the boys and girls young enough and hold them long enough so that they may become thoroughly grounded in civilization. I don't know that Dr. Ellinwood meant the harsh word, parasite, that he used in regard to children thus taken from home. I believe one of the great ways of accomplishing the elevation of the Indian is to take the boys and girls young enough and hold them long enough so that they shall be able to care for themselves.

If I want to educate my boy to take a place in modern life, I do not send him to school for only six months or three years; I take twenty years, give him every advantage in my power, and then am thankful if he succeeds and can stand. I don't believe we have understood what it is to educate an Indian boy or girl. For ten years my boy of thirteen has been at work, and I expect him to continue ten years more. We talk about educating Indian boys and girls by keeping them in day school a little while! We must understand that the work to be done for the Indian is just as great, just as difficult, as to educate our own boys and girls.

The other thought is this: I don't know anything better that has been said this morning than Miss Robertson's plea to treat the Indian like a human being. To submit a man to military discipline is to crush the manhood out of him. When I treat students as men they respond. These Indian boys and girls are made of the same stuff precisely as our sons and daughters, and are capable of development along the same lines.

I wish sometimes that we could blot out the word Indian; that we could make these people a part of ourselves; could put them under the same conditions. I don't think we shall reach the desired point until we take hold of the work for Indian children like the work for our own. So soon as we realize this there will be real progress.

Miss FLETCHER. The Womans' National Indian Association have continued work during the year. I wish Mrs. Quinton or Mrs. Dickinson were here to speak concerning the work of the association. During the year we have increased the number of societies, and hope before another year to cover the entire Union. We have distributed a large number of leaflets. A year ago we began a new work of sending out missionaries to establish work and then turn it over to the care of regular organizations or religious bodies. Two missions have been thus organized and turned over the past year.

The association has taken up home-building. We have held large meetings in the different auxiliaries and a successful annual meeting. The women of the country have been aiding chiefly in urging forward public opinion, upon which we must depend very largely for success.

Dr. BLAND. I am not a delegate from the Indian Defense Association, but I might say briefly that information from all over the country is encouraging—not altogether, but as a whole. I think progress is being made. I hope the time is not far distant when the necessity for the publication of such a paper as my journal may cease to exist; that the time is near when we shall understand the Indian as a man who must be treated humanely, and when the Indian shall cease to be an Indian and adopt civilized life. I know some good friends of the Indian regard me as too conservative because I hold back from going too fast. I look forward to ultimate success. Public opinion is ripening to the point that it must stand by the treaties with the Indians; that they must not be forced, but led to the adoption of a higher civilization by its going to them, getting into them, and lifting them up. I don't think an Indian can be made a white man by act of Congress, but he may be lifted up to an equal plane. Indians write me from all over the country that the Indians are improving. The prospect everywhere is encouraging.

Professor PAINTER. I am sent here by the Indian Rights Association to represent it before the Departments, not before this meeting. You know our method of work is chiefly visiting the reservations, collecting facts, urging them upon the Department, visiting Congress; failing in this, to appeal to the public press. While there has been very marked evidence as to the value of such an organization, I will not go into a statement of that now. As the representative of the association I took an extended trip through the Indian Territory, Arizona, and California, looking into certain questions. I have been struck with the reports as to the difficulty of maintaining Indian day-schools on the reserves where Indians have begun to cultivate the land. As soon as an Indian gets away from the agency where he sits down and takes the food doled out to him, establishes himself as a man and raises his own supplies, then he is isolated. That difficulty we must meet. He is in the line of progress when he goes out to till the land, and we must meet the difficulty, remove the obstacle. Do not talk about the rights of the Indian as an Indian, but as a man—that is the point. I am glad the Indians are scattered out so that it is difficult to maintain day-schools among them. It shows progress on their part. We must enlarge our benefactions and overcome this difficulty. I found this trouble among the Pai-Utes—Indians scattered along the railroad from Truckee to Winnemucca, in Nevada. There is a large number of the Indians not on a reservation and who don't want to go on one. They say, "We ask nothing, want nothing; we are earning wages, taking care of ourselves." The people there want them to stay; they want the help of the women in their households, to cook, to wash, &c., but their children are not in school; they are Indians and cannot come into the public schools. There they are, scattered along there. Shall they be sent back to the horrors of the reservation system or shall we insist that they have some rights; that they may go to the public schools?

General WHITTLESEY. Why is it any more difficult to have these Indian children attend the schools than others?

It is a question of State law. It would be advisable for the Government to co-operate with the State of Nevada in providing for the education of these Indian children. The superintendent of schools for the State of Nevada visited the school at Pyramid Lake. I saw articles he wrote while there. He began with the idea that it was a question whether the Indian was susceptible of education. Later he gave the result of his observations in the school, which led him to advocate that the State of Nevada make arrangements with the General Government. He sent a proposition to the Government to that effect. We should bring our influence to bear in the direction of co-operation. I found the same condition among the scattered Digger Indians in California. A number of them have taken lands under the homestead law, and there is quite a number of Indian citizens of the State of California, and who have been so acknowledged. When you come to the Mission Indians of California, their condition is very pitiful indeed. Helen Hunt Jackson told something of it in her story of Ramona and in reports. I went to see the President and said that in my opinion it was a question for the courts. If they have any right to lands the courts should say so. If these rights are established the Indians are able to take care of themselves. If they have no rights let that be decided by the courts. I went to see the Attorney-General, but he could give no opinion without data upon which to base it. The Indian Bureau are now preparing the case.

I visited the Presbyterian school at Anaheim, Cal. They have there a good building and good workers, but few scholars, as the Indians are all Catholics.

On the whole, just in proportion as they have any chance, there is progress among the Indians.

Miss FLETCHER. I think it a pity to say too much about any one Indian tribe. The more advanced an Indian people become the more complex their life.

The Omahas, among whom I went for purely scientific work, are now holding their lands in severalty. They are not now living where they had lived for one hundred and fifty years. The Omahas have always cultivated the soil; they belong to the nomadic class and not strictly to the village class, like the Pueblos, but went out on

summer hunts. Like all tribes in the buffalo country, they were strictly governed. In the early part of the century they had a remarkable chief, Big Elk, a man quite noticeable in his statesmanlike mind, and who, looking into the untried future, saw the advantages of civilization and tried to turn his people toward a contemplation of our ways of living.

The chief, Black Bird, who was supposed to have been buried on the heights looking toward the Missouri River, and from whom they received their name of the Blackbird Hills, was not really so influential a man among the Indians. He was a great friend to the traders in Spanish times, aiding them in securing large prices for their wares. The giving of this chief's name to these hills was not authorized by the Indians, but worked into history by the white traders. I say this to identify the people in your minds. The Omahas are closely related to the Poncas. They were originally one tribe, probably up to one hundred and fifty years ago.

The Poncas, in 1877–'78, were taken forcibly from their homes on the Niobrara River to the Indian Territory. While *en route* they were visited by their friends, the Omahas, who found them in sore distress at being torn from what they considered their home. The Omahas made their first definite, distinct treaty in 1855, in which was a clause recognizing lands in severalty, and when they made their second treaty in 1866, selling a portion of their land for the Winnebagoes, they made strong insistance on having this incorporated as one section of the treaty. Allotments had been made by the agent and signed by Commissioner Parker. These they supposed were titles for their land, but after seeing the trouble of the Poncas they determined to investigate their title. They went to a lawyer and found that as titles their allotments were not worth the paper they were written on. They were in this sore distress when I first visited them. The people had largely scattered out upon their farms. They had set aside their chiefs, and had also inaugurated sundry reforms looking toward the interests of the people. They know from experience that when land was held by the tribe it was easily managed by controlling a few chiefs, and the chiefs could be easily persuaded. Their one thought now was how to obtain the patent to which they thought they were entitled; that was the one shadow over every home. I found in my study of this people how attached they were to their homes. I knew nothing from a practical standpoint. They were to me simply an interesting people to be studied. I was just an unprejudiced scholar when I began to hunt up facts—to look up their treaties. It was the most confounding experience I ever went through. I had never imagined such inconsistencies as I found in this my first public lesson. I gathered up a number of statistics, making my basis of action the idea that they had homesteaded their lands. I sent them on to Washington—thought that would be enough. The Omahas would come from all over the reserve to ask about their patents, and so I crossed the country and came to Washington, General Whittlesey will remember, for my first interview was with him. At last, in August, 1882, the President signed a bill giving the Omahas lands in severalty. In the mean time I had brought on two large parties of children to be placed in school. I was asked by the Secretary of the Interior to undertake the work of allotment. I began it in 1883, 160 acres being allowed to each head of a family, 80 to every person over eighteen and to every orphan, and 40 to every minor. It was clear to my mind that the people should move out when they came to take permanent locations.

The mission, built in 1858, was at that time on the Missouri River near a steamboat landing, but the river in its change had swept the landing down to the Gulf of Mexico. In order to get the Indians to scatter out, I took my tent, my Indian matron, and clerk, and went all over the 76,000 acres of the reservation. I induced a large number of them to take lands in the western part. It was a great deal better for them to be near the railroad and a market than to have to haul their produce 20 or 30 miles. When I left the reservation something like 800 acres had already been broken there, and a town has since grown. The Indians found it an advantage to be nearer a white neighborhood.

These people are entirely self-supporting, though they are now on their last installment of $10,000, distributed per capita. There is no place where there is more of politics than on an Indian reservation, and the Omahas are no exception.

Many families are cultivating 25 to 100 acres, and as there is seldom more than one man to do this it shows great individual effort.

The prospect is not, however, all bright. It is not all clear sailing; they have a new agent, who is inexperienced; there are many changes.

Employés have been dispensed with—farmers, blacksmiths, &c.—because the Indians made the argument that only a few of them were benefited by them, most of them paying for repairs, &c., themselves.

I was much surprised to hear an adverse report had been made by an inspector. I immediately wrote to the councilmen and have deposited their replies with the Indian Office, controverting the reports received by the inspector from interested parties that there was stock turned over to the Indians; that they had a feast and ate it all up.

There were eighteen or nineteen head of cattle; these were distributed. They turned over three cows to the school superintendent; he turned them back; said they were not worth keeping, and advised them to kill them; the animals were, therefore, slaughtered, and the meat divided around.

The fact about the Omahas is they need to learn self-confidence. They have not as yet realized the value of education. They are, for instance, willing to keep their children in the fields in September, but I am advised the schools are full this winter. The outlook is promising. They have taken a step forward. In my mind the taking of land in severalty is the first step forward.

The committee on resolutions presented their report, which was accepted. It was agreed to take the resolutions up *seriatim*.

In the debate following remarks were made:

Professor PAINTER. Indian rights, as they are spoken of and insisted upon, are largely the right of an Indian to be an Indian. We consider the past a mistake. We wish now to look at him as a man. There was nothing in the old system to educate him out of the Indian into manhood.

Dr. BLAND. We recognized the manhood of the Indians in making treaties with them as political powers; we recognized their manhood in war. They have progressed as rapidly as we had any right to expect. They are looking forward to the time when they shall have lands in severalty.

Professor PAINTER asked Dr. Bland how much property per capita the Cherokees had now, and how much prior to their removal from Georgia. Had their progress been rapid in this.

Miss ROBERTSON thought this a very unfortunate question. The Cherokees were stripped of their property at the time of their removal. They had to begin again in a new country—discouraged, disheartened, enfeebled by diseases incident to change of climate, their number terribly reduced by death, and, then, when they had begun to regain what they had lost, came the war of the rebellion, when they were dragged into what they protested was a white man's fight, not theirs, but in vain. Their great herds of cattle went to enrich quartermasters and feed armies. Their slaves were freed; their homes burned; they were driven forth as wanderers, until, when peace was made, they returned to begin again the struggle for life in a wilderness. As a child I remember those awful days of famine when people lived on roots and bark. Where the war found prosperity and plenty it left unutterable dearth and desolation, and had not these people possessed brave hearts they would have simply given up. That they have done so well as they have shows their ability. It must not be taken as a fair record of what they would have been in the number of years had they been unmolested.

Judge WILLARD. Manhood means something in contradistinction to being under guardianship. It means self-control. We must go by slow, patient steps. The Indian has not attained that power of self-control characteristic of manhood. We must not force responsibility upon him. Wherever an Indian wishes to take land in severalty give it to him. If an Indian wants to leave the reservation let him go.

Judge STRONG. The Indians should be dealt with as we deal with our own citizens. They should be allowed to sue in our courts; they should be subject to the criminal laws of the States.

General ARMSTRONG. I believe the time has come to put the Indian out of swaddling clothes into the garments of manhood.

The resolutions were then adopted, as follows:

Resolved I. That it is the sense of this conference that the rights of the Indian as a man should more and more prominently shape legislation for the Indians; that land in severalty and full citizenship should be secured for him as rapidly as possible with safety; that to this end he should at once receive the full protection of our laws, whether on or off his reservation, including the right to appear in court and sue in his own name; and that industrial and general education should be pressed upon the Indian by all possible means.

Resolved II. That the bills providing for lands in severalty, protected by a trust title for a term of years, immediately for all Indians who are prepared so to take them, have our cordial support, and that we earnestly press upon Congress the immediate passage of this act.

Resolved III. Inasmuch as in some of the States and Territories there are Indian children who are excluded from State school privileges,

Resolved, That this conference appeals to all the States to accord the privileges of schools to such Indians as may reside therein, off from Indian reservations.

Resolved IV. That we protest against the passage of any bill looking to the opening of the Indian Territory to general settlement and political control by white citizens of the United States without the consent of the Indians of said Territory and in violation of their treaty rights.

Resolved V. That the reports made by the several religious bodies of the rapid progress of the Indian toward civilization and Christianity call for renewed and enlarged

effort on the part of all our churches in the direction of Christian education and mission work.

The evening session was held at the Congregational Church, and begun by the Carlisle students singing "America."

The pastor of the church, Rev. Mr. Newman, led in prayer.

General FISK. It has been the custom of the Board of Indian Commissioners for many years to have this day of convocation, to which they have invited the corresponding secretaries and other representatives of the various religious denominations who are carrying on religious or school work among the Indians. The meeting today has been of greater interest than any previous one. I wish you might all have been present and heard the reports from Alaska to Mexico. We thought it best to have this meeting, at which speeches would be made by gentlemen well acquainted with Indian work, but first we will have a little speech from an Indian boy.

Luke Philips, a Nez Percé boy, told the story of his life.

Dr. STRIEBY then made the following address:

We are all happy to find that there is a determination on the part of the American people to educate the Indian, industrially and in the school-room. We are exceedingly happy to find the President of the United States and the Interior Department, as represented by Secretary Lamar, fully ready to carry out this determination. The question is whether there is anything else to do—whether religious instruction can be imparted by the Government. All of us must feel the importance of religious instruction for the Indian.

We have probably all read the old Oriental fable about a bad genius with a wand that turned the prince and the whole people into stone, and of the lady with magical power who disenthralled them, and we can imagine how things were arranged afterwards between the prince and the fair lady. Now, suppose the lady, instead of wholly disenchanting them, had only thrown the wand upon their bodies and given life and muscular activity without restoring the mind; suppose she had next touched the intellect but not the heart, but suppose the third and last touch had come gently down upon the heart, opening the fountain of life. Like the body awakened without the soul is the civilization of a race without its Christianization. How is it to be with the Indian?

It is very pleasant to have the President of the United States declare that if the facts were known it would be found that the civilization of the Indian as it now exists is due largely to the efforts of Christian missionaries. This has been reiterated by Secretary Lamar. I wish there were time to prove this by tracing the work of missionaries, beginning with Eliot and his Indian Bible; then the Mayhews, laboring for five generations; the apostolic Brainerd in the wilds of Pennsylvania and New Jersey; then the Moravian Church and its wonderful work; then the Quakers with Penn and his associates; and then, to skip over to later times, the work of the American Board in Georgia; then to remember what our Methodist friends did from Iowa west to the Pacific across to where that apostolic man, Father Wilbur, has done such a great work.

But I know it is said this is not permanent; it does not last. Where are the Christianized people? I confess for years that was a stumbling-block to my mind, but when I came to think more about it, I realized that Eliot's church was murdered in King Philip's war, all but four persons. Take the Cherokees; in nineteen places they had planted the Christian standard, in almost every instance to be torn away by the power of the sword. In some of these terrible times these Indian Christians showed the lovely spirit of Christ. If you could see how they bore the trials in Georgia you would feel no truer martyrs ever existed.

I have planted trees hoping to obtain fruit from them, but I did not go and uproot them as fast as they began to grow. How can we expect so much from a people so driven about. Can any man steel his heart against the stories of these people Helen Hunt Jackson has written; how they bore privations and suffering? Eleven Indians were taken and roasted, while in the fire one of the women said, as the flames gathered around her, "it as all well, dear Jesus; it is just what I expected." In the midst of their sorrows, agonies, privations, and death they lay claim to a place with the martyrs gone before. They have shown a forgiveness of spirit which proved them followers of Him who on the cross said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

We must finish the work for the Indian; we must touch the heart with Christianity.

The Carlisle students sang "Ring Bells."

General FISK. I now have the pleasure of introducing Dr. Gates, a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and president of Rutgers College, New Jersey, who will speak upon "The tribe and the reservation."

Dr. GATES. It is well, my friends, that we have before us examples of what the Indian is. As you know well, most ideals differ seriously from the real objects. Those of you who may have formed your opinion of the Indians from the works of the American author, perhaps best known on the other side of the Atlantic, will have a different

opinion of the American Indian as he appears in Cooper's romances from that some of you may have formed from the newspaper editorials of certain parts of the West. I remember once being at a dinner party at which was present a friend of Cooper's, very jealous of his reputation. The question was asked him, whether an old colored servant of Mr. Cooper's was not the original of a similar character in one of his romances, to which the reply was made, "Oh, no; he never had an original; he was purely a creation of the fancy, just as his Indians were." I suppose, to find the real Indian, a line must be drawn equally removed from the Western newspaper and Cooper's romance.

It has been a rather difficult thing to define the status of the Indian legally; we have been talking about that to-day in the conference. One Attorney-General declared that the Indian, since he was in the land, was "a domestic subject of the Government." Daniel Webster, after some research, pronounced him "a perpetual resident with diminutive rights"—exceedingly diminutive in some quarters.

The Indians are usually considered wards of the Government, and we shall have to accept this till we get something better. I want to ask what kind of treatment is due from a Christian nation to the wards of the Government. The conscience of the people demands that the Indian within our boundaries shall be fairly and honestly treated, with a view to ultimate citizenship. It is due from a guardian to a ward that he not only manage the business, the funds, of the ward, but see that he receives suitable education. What would be thought of a guardian who used for his own purposes funds for the education of his wards. Yet year after year we have called attention to the fact that $1,000,000 or $5,000,000 which we have agreed to use annually for Indian education are still in the national Treasury. We are fully able to pay this; let it be used. It is not the duty of a guardian simply to feed his wards; he should see that they receive such training as to become self-supporting and capable of self-control. Have we as a nation been a faithful guardian? Let us apply this test: What is our duty as guardian towards the Indians as wards?

When I found by the morning papers that I had been appointed to the one office I have ever held, an office singular in one respect—that it has no salary—I devoted myself to trying to find out what it meant. I confess to an entire reversal of feeling. I began with the feeling that each tribe should continue its government, its religious rites, &c., that it should have a perfect right to decide whether the family or the tribe should be the unit. I am entirely converted from this feeling. I know there are some here who have not experienced this change. I have yet to meet more than one man—I know one—who has tried to learn who has not experienced this. We must free the Indian from the awful tyranny of the tribe, take him from the cesspool of the reservation. I believe the tribe and the reservation must go, because there is within our reach the magic which will give the awakening touch. I believe certain things have been made clear in the past. If there is steady growth toward civilization a people must hold the soil not *en masse*, but individually. The history of the world proves this; civilization has never advanced where lands were held in common.

Dr. Strieby asked if you could make a tree grow by constant transplanting.

Within twelve years the Sioux have moved eight times; nevertheless they are making wonderful strides forward. As fast as land becomes valuable it is taken away. The family must be the foundation. First of all, God writes civilization shall grow in the family.

Napoleon first showed his great shrewdness when he said "It is every man's stomach that keeps the world moving." The desire for gain is an important fact in civilization.

The most accursed thing in our treatment of the Indians has been to keep them like dumb beasts driven up on certain confining limits; we have not given healthful stimulus. There can be no true family life where property is held in common, where, when the father dies, the property is divided among the relatives instead of being kept for the children. It is a sage old Irish maxim that says, "Land is a perpetual grandfather." So long as the land is there it holds the family together. We don't allow that through the tribal organization.

Satan himself could not have devised a better plan for keeping these people down than the reservation system.

I will tell you what I think we ought to do; we ought to make the Indians over into citizens. As it is now we cut them off, we insulate them, we double insulate them with a sticky mass of half-breeds, of miserable whites, of outlaws; double insulate them with this sticky mass and expect the life-giving current to circulate. We make a passage for a few Christian missionaries, but why can't we reach the whole mass? We must let in civilization, we must break up the reservation. Look at these young men here to-night. Suppose, after five years in school, one of these young men had returned to the reservation on the same day that Spotted Tail, brutal murderer, was let loose unpunished. What would the influence of this young man on the young

warriors be in comparison with that of the murderer? It would be a gigantic object-lesson in crime.

Let the Indian have law, such law as the white man; let him have land, land in severalty. Then, in strict accordance with treaty, where we can, by persuasion, let the reservations be cut down; let the surplus land be sold; let the wise bill introduced by one whom we all delight to honor, Senator Dawes, be pressed on to passage.

There is a simple cure for the whole Indian question. Let us take it from that oft-repeated quotation, "There is no good Indian but a dead Indian." My friends, if that saying is the consummate flower of our Christian civilization, may God forgive us. It was started only as a joke. Let us take what was said by that grand hero at the head of the Carlisle school, "We accept this, that there is no good Indian but a dead Indian; we will kill the Indian and save the Christian man."

General Fisk then introduced two Indian boys, Henry J. Kendall, a Pueblo, of New Mexico, and Richard Davis, a Cheyenne, who gave an account of their life at school.

General FISK. We will now turn from the Apache Indians to the Senate Chamber, and will be addressed by Senator Chace, of Rhode Island.

Senator CHACE. When General Whittlesey asked me to come down and speak to you I hardly realized what I was doing. I have been thinking that for me to talk about the Indians with Captain Pratt and General Armstrong present, is like sending a schoolboy over to the Smithsonian Institution to teach Professor Baird about natural history. I asked General Whittlesey what I should talk about, and he said, "Oh, you will get plenty of texts from speakers who precede you." I got one from Dr. Strieby about the beautiful princess. Now, if I were that princess holding the wand and was going to have the Indian elevated—if I were that pretty girl, and had that wand, I would touch the white man. He is the fellow that needs the wand. The trouble in settling this problem does not come from the Indian, but from the white man. At the State Department you will find, carefully preserved, an old parchment, the compilation of one Thomas Jefferson, which states that "all men are born free and equal." It does not say, all men are born free and equal except Indians. It says "all men." Upon that foundation we have laid up our great superstructure. Our whole judiciary system all goes back to that great principle of justice to all men. Every 4th of July we applaud ourselves and proclaim to the world what freemen we are. And yet, here are three hundred thousand people possessed of as great rights as those we arrogate to ourselves—not one word of how we herd them together under the most unfavorable circumstances, how we wrest their property from them, and do not restrain ourselves from encroaching upon their rights.

We must turn a considerable portion of our attention to the white man, must devise some system by which the white man, hungering for Indian lands, shall be restrained. In the Senate, to-day, we have been considering a bill concerning Sioux lands in Dakota. The white man stands ready to seize these lands, whether by right or wrong. We have, as we say, to protect the public. These people are not ready for citizenship, so we say. We forget the savage from the slums of Europe, who comes to this country and to whom we give the ballot upon his asking. We cannot set up the claim that the Indian is not fit for citizenship. Give the right to the ballot and it will bring its own remedy. White men must then take hold from self-defense to fit the Indian to exercise that right. The responsibility rests upon us, upon every man and woman, and if we continue to sin against these people a fearful judgment will, I believe, come upon us. Our fathers had to face the great problem of slavery. Slavery grew and fed upon itself like a great cancer, until it was washed out in a sea of blood. Unless we do something for the Indian the judgment of heaven will be upon us.

Some reference has been made to the Sioux bill which my friend Senator Dawes is endeavoring to push through. People are too prone to look to legislators as directly responsible for legislation. I think this is wrong. No man in either house of Congress dares go beyond the people who send him there. If the opinion of the people who send him is well formed and distinct, if he realizes his constituents expect him to do certain things, he will do them. It is upon you, ladies and gentlemen, ladies as well as gentlemen, upon whom the responsibility rests very largely. Legislation cannot go beyond public opinion. Public opinion is not yet sufficiently educated upon this question.

General FISK. Miss Fletcher, who organized alone the forces which put a whole tribe of Indians upon lands of their own, held in severalty, will now speak to us about returned Indians.

Miss FLETCHER. Having looked upon the faces of these boys and girls, and having heard them sing, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty," it sets one thinking of their homes, that is, those places where they are herded, for very largely they are not homes; for all that President Gates has said about the reservation is true, painfully true.

When these young men and young women have gone back to the reservation, to these conditions, it is worse then sending them to make bricks without straw. It is

asking them to create bricks. There is nothing for them to do. I remember one boy who went back from Carlisle. His father lived in a tent, not having made the least advance in civilization. This poor boy did not want to hurt his parent's feelings; they could not understand why it should be unpleasant to him to lie on the ground, so he sat up the first night and the second night. The third day the father, after looking at the tired boy, posted over to the agent and said, "You must give me some lumber to make a bed for my boy; he can't live this way." As has been said to you, there can be no real family life in a tent, where the whole family are huddled together so. The poor boy, used to better methods, found this terribly hard. There was no work for him to do to earn money. What shall he do? It is a hard case. I have seen it repeated over and over again.

People talk glibly of the failure of Indian education. They say when educated Indians go home they don't amount to anything; they go right back to the blanket. Too much stress is placed upon the blanket. Citizens' clothing means money. Indian garments, leggins, and shirts are simple, easily made. Coats and vests are hard to make; the blanket takes the place of both. Many among the Indians prefer citizens' dress, but they can't get it. What is a returned student to do when his clothes wear out; he has no money to buy more, and cannot obtain any work by which to earn money?

That so small a percentage of Indian students return to Indian customs under the awful pressure of the reservation is indeed wonderful.

I want to speak of a work already started, that of taking young married couples. The Indians marry very young, and bringing them to school together, letting them live in cottages, and then, when they go back after a few years' training, money is lent them to erect cottages upon their farms, they paying rent until in this way the money is returned. The experiment has already been tried and proved successful at this end of the line. Couples going back have been helped; one cottage has been built by the women of Connecticut, another is being built by the women of Washington.

The Government is fairly launched toward education, but there is something more to be done. These people must be helped to set up in life. Only by means of the family can you break up the tribal organization. Then comes in the leverage of property, individual property. I appeal to you for your interest in this matter.

General FISK. An Indian meeting where General Armstrong is would be a failure without a word from him.

General ARMSTRONG. The family is indeed the most important factor in civilization. The mistake in American civilization has been the entire devotion to individuality rather than to the family. That I believe to be the fundamental fact we must recognize in this race work. Where there is not family life there is very little basis for hopeful work; the family is the foundation; we must have that to build upon. I think every Indian school should take both sexes. We have found in our work for the negroes, after eighteen years' experience with this weak, sensuous race, that this is the better plan. It is true it is more difficult, it takes a stronger force, but it can be done, and done most satisfactorily, and the result of co-education is far more than we had anticipated.

Establish the Indian in his own home and he will want lands in severalty, and after that law. The Sioux bill and the Coke bill now before the Senate look toward this. God speed them both.

If people only realized how small the work is. What are 280,000 Indians? How little effort it would take to care for them all.

Last year it was stated by the gentleman who introduced the Indian appropriation bill that the Indians who had been to Carlisle and Hampton went back to barbarism. Last summer we sent out two of our teachers to look up returned students. They report that out of about eighty only four had hopelessly fallen. About one-third to one-half we may estimate as not doing well, though not fallen; not hopeless. The struggle for them has been terrible. These teachers found the record far more hopeful than they expected.

Captain PRATT. I had thought I would not speak here to-night; simply let these Indian youth speak for me, but as the meeting has gone on I have changed my mind. First, I want to say that the speeches of these boys, with the exception of the Apaches, are in almost exactly their own words. These speeches were prepared at my instance to be delivered at the Military Service Institution on Governor's Island, at which General Hancock presided, and there were about three hundred Army officers present. I told them I wanted them to give the story of their life before coming to Carlisle, and their life there, their trade, farm, and school experience.

My feeling about the Indian question is that we stand here to-day in America somewhat in the character of heaven to sinners; the whole principle and effort is to make them like us. My mind goes away back to Calvary. I think of that man of men who inaugurated all the principles of civilization we hold dear. I listen to his teaching, follow him to the last moment as he hangs upon the cross, and the two men hanging

there on either side of him, and one who said "Lord, remember me," and the divine answer was, "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." He took that sinful man, that malefactor, with him to his own home, and said, "Father, I have brought with me the first fruits."

I think that the homes required for these Indian people are the homes of America. We don't want to build homes and say, "There is the place for you, stay there." We want to invite them here among us, and say, "Here is the place for you." I had some boys with me the other day in New York. I took them down to the Battery; we saw Turks, Arabs, all sorts of people, worse looking men than any Indians I ever saw. They come here as emigrants; we invite them to come here to become a part of us. The whole trouble with these 260,000 Indians is, we do not invite them to come in and be one of us. I said to these boys, "Now you have had some experience down there at Carlisle, you just come here and go down the bay in a little boat, and hail one of these emigrant ships, get aboard it and tell them you just want to be brought in with the other emigrants. When these men in charge ask you where you come from, I don't like to tell you to tell a lie, but I guess you had better say from the Fejee Islands. Tell them you want to go down to Pennsylvania; they will let you go, and presently they will give you a paper making you a citizen, and after awhile a Congressman will be around asking you to vote for him."

Senator Chace has alluded to the Declaration of Independence. I wish you would read it and see how much you could apply to the United States, imagining yourself an Indian. As the signers of that Declaration protested against the tyranny of England, so might the Indians protest against the tyranny of the United States.

I have in my pocket a copy of a letter written more than sixty years ago by a young Choctaw Indian, who was brought to Washington by a gentleman, who placed him in an educational institution, where the young man received a finished education. He tried to make his way in the world. An Indian could not vote. If his rights were infringed upon he could not resist, for he had no rights. After awhile this began to oppress him most terribly. This letter I have shows his sense of injustice, and yet his hope of better things for the Indian. That was sixty-one years ago, and we still propose to make them a separate people, to continue them so forever. Who is to be the judge? When will the time arrive when these people can be taken in and made citizens? We can take in Turks and Arabs at once; when will the time come for the Indian? I believe in taking these people right now. We have taken in 500,000 from foreign countries in a single year, but these 260,000 Indians are to be held apart forever, I suppose. People stumble over land—that seems to bother them—not the man, but property, money. It is surprising to see how soon people, after becoming interested in the Indians, begin to talk about lands.

From Carlisle we have sent out in six years 708 pupils. They have gone out into families; some have staid two months, some six months, some two years. This young Apache boy has been out two months.

I once handled some Indian prisoners who were bad, low fellows, always on the warpath. The result with them proved that you can take even old men; it is simply a question of a little soap and water. I had an old lady over sixty years of age take these hard old fellows; she taught them from the Bible, taught them such texts as "If ye love me keep my commandments," "God so loved the world," &c. This old man after his return to his people, this man who had been so great in the wars of his people, lay on the ground dying. He asked his wife to bring his Bible to him. He turned it over on his face that the good words might be next him.

I want to say something about the miserable half-breeds we have heard of here to-night. I think better of the half-breeds than some of you. Let me show you what Europe does what we don't do. There was a German who married an Indian woman and died, leaving some children. His mother, away over in Germany, heard of these children, and when she died, four years ago, she left a part of her property to these children. We have had the hardest work to keep this property out of the hands of sharpers. A lawyer got himself appointed guardian to these children. I found it out, wrote to Germany, and the money—about $7,000—will come to the boy and girl. The boy has selected his farm in Columbia County, and says he don't care whether he can vote or not, he is going to stay there.

The United States is the place for the 260,000 Indians, not reservations. Here is Richard Davis. He can set 7,000 ems of type a day. Wants to set 12,000. Why should he not go out for himself? I don't need to send any one with him. He has learned by being in it, to swim by being in the water over his head.

After singing by the Indian students the meeting adjourned.

List of officers, &c., connected with the Office of Indian Affairs, including agents, inspectors, and special agents, also addresses of members of the Board of Indian Commissioners.

[Corrected to January 5, 1886.]

JOHN D. C. ATKINS, *Commissioner*.....507 Fourth street northwest.
ALEXANDER B. UPSHAW, *Chief Clerk*.....715 Ninth steet northwest.

CHIEFS OF DIVISIONS.

Finance—EDMUND S. WOOG.....1819 Linden street, Le Droit Park.
Accounts—SAMUEL M. YEATMAN.....944 L street northwest.
Land—CHARLES A. MAXWELL.....612 Q street northwest.
Files—GEORGE W. TERFLINGER.....338 First street northeast.

INSPECTORS AND SPECIAL AGENTS.

Indian inspectors.

ROBERT S. GARDNER.....Clarksburg, W. Va.
ELI D. BANNISTER.....Lawrenceburg, Ind.
MORRIS A. THOMAS.....Baltimore, Md.
GEORGE R. PEARSONS.....Fort Dodge, Iowa.
FRANK C. ARMSTRONG.....New Orleans, La.

Superintendent of Indian schools.

JOHN H. OBERLY.....1228 Fourteenth street northwest.

Special Indian agents at large.

WILLIAM PARSONS.....Hartford, Conn.
JAMES L. ROBINSON.....Franklin, N. C.
HENRY HETH.....Richmond, Va.
CHARLES H. DICKSON.....Indianapolis, Ind.
EUGENE E. WHITE.....Prescott, Ark.

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS, WITH THEIR, POST-OFFICE ADDRESSES.

CLINTON B. FISK, *Chairman*, 3 Broad street, New York City.
E. WHITTLESEY, *Secretary*, New York avenue, corner Fifteenth street, Washington, D. C.
WILLIAM H. LYON, 483 Broadway, New York City.
ALBERT K. SMILEY, New Platz, New York.
WILLIAM MCMICHAEL, 265 Broadway, New York City.
JOHN K. BOIES, Hudson, Mich.
WILLIAM T. JOHNSON, Chicago, Ill.
MERRILL E. GATES, New Brunswick, N. J.
JOHN CHARLTON, Nyack, Rockland County, New York.
WILLIAM H. MORGAN, Nashville, Tenn.

List of Indian agencies and agents, with post-office and telegraphic addresses.

Agency.	State or Territory.	Agent.	Post-office address.	Telegraphic address.
Blackfeet	Montana	Reuben A. Allen	Piegan, Chotean County, Montana Territory	Fort Shaw, Mont.
Cheyenne River	Dakota	Charles E. McChesney	Fort Bennett, Dak	Fort Bennett, Dak.
Cheyenne and Arapaho	Indian	J. M. Lee, Capt. U. S. A	Darlington, Ind. T	Dodge City, Kans.
Colorado River	Arizona	C. F. Ashley	Parker, Yuma County, Arizona Territory	Yuma, Ariz.
Colville	Washington	B. P. Moore	Chewelah, Stevens County, Washington Territory	Spokane Falls, Wash.
Crow Creek and Lower Brulé.	Dakota	William W. Anderson	Crow Creek, Dak	Crow Creek, Dak., via Chamberlian.
Crow	Montana	Henry E. Williamson	Crow Agency, Mont	Fort Custer, Mont.
Devil's Lake	Dakota	John W. Cramsie	Fort Totten, Ramsey County, Dakota Territory	Fort Totten, Dak.
Eastern Cherokee	North Carolina	Julius L. Holmes (resigned)	Charleston, Swain County, North Carolina	Waynesville, N. C.
Flathead	Montana	Peter Ronan	Arlee, Mont	Flathead Agency, via Arlee, Mont.
Fort Berthold	Dakota	A. J. Gifford	Fort Berthold, Stevens County, Dakota Territory	Bismarck, Dak.
Fort Belknap	Montana	W. L. Lincoln	Fort Belknap, Mont	Fort Assinaboine, Mont.
Fort Hall	Idaho	A. L. Cook	Ross Fork, Bingham County, Idaho Territory	Pocatello, Idaho.
Fort Peck	Montana	Henry R. West	Poplar Creek, Mont	Poplar River, Mont.
Grande Rondo	Oregon	John B. McClane	Grande Ronde, Polk County, Oregon	Sheridan, Oreg.
Green Bay	Wisconsin	Thomas Jennings	Keshena, Shawano County, Wisconsin	Shawano, Wis.
Hoopa Valley	California	J. N. Andrews, Capt. U. S. A.	Hoopa Valley, Humboldt County, California	Arcata, Humboldt County, California.
Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita.	Indian	Jesse Lee Hall	Anadarko, Ind. T	Fort Sill, Ind. T.
Klamath	Oregon	Joseph Emery	Klamath Agency, Klamath County, Oregon	Klamath Agency, Oreg.
Lemhi	Idaho	Robert Woodbridge	Lemhi Agency, Idaho	Red Rock, Mont.
La Pointe	Wisconsin	J. T. Gregory	Ashland, Wis	Ashland, Wis.
Mackinac	Michigan	Mark W. Stevens	Flint, Genesee County, Michigan	Flint, Mich.
Mescalero	New Mexico	Fletcher J. Cowart	South Fork, Lincoln County, New Mexico	Fort Stanton, N. Mex., via San Marcial.
Mission	California	John S. Ward	Colton, Cal	Colton, Cal.
Navajo	New Mexco	John H. Bowman (resigned)	Fort Defiance, Ariz	Manuelito, N. Mex.
Neah Bay	Washington	W. L. Powell	Neah Bay, Clallam County, Washington Territory	Port Townsend, Wash.
Nevada	Nevada	William D. C. Gibson	Wadsworth, Washoe County, Nevada	Wadsworth, Nev.
New York	New York	William Peacock	Gowanda, Cataraugus County, New York	Gowanda, N. Y.
Nez Percés	Idaho	Charles E. Monteith	Lewiston, Idaho	Lewiston, Idaho.
Nisqually and S'Kokomish.	Washington	Edwin Eells	Tacoma, Wash	Tacoma, Wash.
Omaha and Winnebago	Nebraska	Charles H. Potter	Winnebago, Dakota County, Nebraska	Dakota City, Nebr.
Osage	Indian	Frederick Hoover	Pawhuska, Ind. T	Coffeyville, Kans.
Ouray	Utah	E. L. Carson	Ouray Agency, Utah, via Green River City, Wyo.	Green River City, Woy. (thence by mail to agency).
Pima	Arizona	Roswell G. Wheeler	Sacaton, Pinal County, Arizona Territory	Casa Grande, Ariz.
Pine Ridge	Dakota	V. T. McGillycuddy	Pine Ridge Agency, Dak	Pine Ridge Agency, Dak., via mail from Sydney, Nebr.
Ponca, Pawnee, Otoe, and Oakland.	Indian	E. C. Osborne	Ponca Agency, Ind. T	Arkansas City, Kans.
Pottawatomie and Great Nemaha.	Kansas	I. W. Patrick	Silver Lake, Pottawatomie County, Kansas	Silver Lake, Kans.
Pueblo	New Mexico	Dolores Romero	Santa Fé. N. Mex	Santa Fé, N. Mex.

Quapaw	Indian	John V. Summers	Seneca, Newton County, Missouri	Seneca, Mo.
Quinaielt	Washington	Charles Willoughby	Damon, Chehalis County, Washington Territory	Olympia, Wash.
Round Valley	California	Thedore F. Willsey	Covelo, Mendocino County, California	Ukiah, Mendocino County, California.
Rosebud	Dakota	James G. Wright	Rosebud Agency, Dak., via Valentine, Nebr	Rosebud Agency, Dak., via Valentine, Nebr.
San Carlos	Arizona	F. E. Pierce, Capt. U. S. A.	San Carlos Agency, Ariz	San Carlos Agency, via Wilcox, Ariz.
Southern Ute	Colorado	C. F. Stollsteimer	Ignacio, La Plata County, Colorado	Ignacio, La Plata County, Colorado.
Sisseton	Dakota	Israel Greene	Sisseton Agency, Dak	Brown's Valley, Minn.
Standing Rock	do	James McLaughlin	Fort Yates, Dak	Fort Yates, Dak.
Sac and Fox	Indian	Moses Neal	Sac and Fox Agency, Ind. T	Tulsa, Ind. T.
Sac and Fox	Iowa	William H. Black	Montour, Tama County, Iowa	Montour, Tama County, Iowa.
Santee	Nebraska	Charles Hill	Santee Agency, Knox County, Nebraska	Springfield, Dak.
Siletz	Oregon	F. M. Wadsworth	Toledo, Benton County, Oregon	Corvallis, Oreg.
Shoshone	Wyoming	Thomas M. Jones	Shoshone Agency, Fremont County, Wyoming Territory.	Via Fort Washakie.
Tule River	California	C. G. Belknap	Porterville, Tulare County, California	Tulare, Cal.
Tulalip	Washington	Patrick Buckley	Tulalip, Snohomish County, Washington Territory.	Seattle, Wash.
Umatilla	Oregon	Bartholomew Coffey	Pendleton, Umatilla County, Oregon	Pendleton, Oreg.
Union	Indian	Robert L. Owen	Muskogee, Ind. T	Muskogee, Ind. T.
Unitah	Utah	J. B. Kinney	White Rocks, Utah, via Green River City, Wyo	Green River City, Wyo.
White Earch (consolidated.)	Minnesota	T. J. Sheehan	White Earth, Becker County, Minnesota	Detroit, Minn.
Western Shoshone	Nevada	John S. Mayhugh	White Rock, Elko County, Nevada	Tuscarora, Nev.
Warm Springs	Oregon	Jason Wheeler	Warm Springs, Crook County, Oregon	The Dalles, Oreg.
Yakama	Washington	Timothy A. Byrnes	Fort Simcoe, Yakima County, Washington Territory.	Yakima City, Wash.
Yankton	Dakota	John F. Kinney	Greenwood, Dak	Greenwood, Dak.
Tongue River	Montana	Robert L. Upshaw		

List of Indian training and industrial schools and superintendents, with post-office and telegraphic addresses.

School.	State or Territory.	Superintendent.	Post-office address.	Telegraphic address.
Carlisle Training School	Pennsylvania	R. H. Pratt, Capt. U. S. A	Carlisle, Pa	Carlisle, Pa.
Chilocco Industrial School	Indian	Walter R. Branham, jr	Chilocco, Ind. T., via Arkansas City, Kans	Chilocco, Ind. T., via Arkansas City, Kans.
Forest Grove Training School.	Oregon	John Lee	Forest Grove, Oreg	Forest Grove, Oreg., via Cornelius.
Fort Stevenson School	Dakota	George W. Scott	Fort Berthold, Stevens County, Dakota Territory	Bismarck, Dak.
Genoa Industrial School	Nebraska	Horace R. Chase	Genoa, Nebr	Genoa, Nebr.
Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.	Virginia	S. C. Armstrong	Hampton, Va	Hampton Va.
Haskell Institute	Kansas	Arthur Grabowskii	Lawrence, Kans	Lawrence, Kans.